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Yeltsin Interviewed on Current Concerns

Russian Television and IZVESTIYA report on a televised Yeltsin interview by four journalists, including political observers from Russian Television, IZVESTIYA, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 14 July in Moscow. Yeltsin discusses such issues as the reform process and the harvest situation. He pointed to the examination and ratification of the program for deepening the reform as one of the most important recent events, suggesting that if things progress as planned, reform "will have become an irreversible process."

Concerning the Supreme Soviet draft resolution on the mass media, Yeltsin thinks that "the Supreme Soviet will not actually resort to such extreme measures" as destroying the newspaper IZVESTIYA in its present form. (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA cites an ITAR-TASS report saying that Yeltsin "expressed his unequivocal and resolute support for the IZVESTIYA collective." Yeltsin is quoted: "'Attempts to rein in the press could return us to the sad era of secrecy and damage our young democracy.'")

On the issue of CPSU document declassification, Yeltsin avers: "They contain neither technological secrets nor any secrets of intelligence service offices. There are documents which would rock society, and we are even backpedalling slightly at present because a lot has been heaped upon society; it is carrying a heavy burden. Therefore we will delay a little, but we will of course publish."

Supreme Soviet Meets on Security Ministry

INTERFAX reports that a "closed session of the Russian Supreme Soviet" was held on 14 July during which a resolution on the results of the parliamentary verification of the Security Ministry was passed. The deputies were informed about the ministry's "shortcomings and drawbacks in a 17 pages' note distributed and certified by signatures with a sign 'Not for press'." POSTFACTUM notes that the Security Ministry was "instructed to take measures to eliminate drawbacks in their work and pay special attention to providing the supreme organs of state power and government with information and analysis in order to ensure them maximum assistance in working out timely decisions on ensuring the state security of the Russian Federation." The reorganization of the ministry's central structure and appointments to the leading posts will be made "only in coordination with the Supreme Soviet. It was decided to raise the upkeep of security officers to make it equal to that of Army officers."

Russian Troops To Be Stationed in Byelarus

INTERFAX reports on a military agreement between Byelarus and Russia which will allow for Russian forces of about 30,000 troops to be stationed on Byelarus. According to a military adviser for Byelarusian President Shushkevich, "units of strategic forces will constitute the majority of these formations." The bilateral military agreement "'will define the status of the Russian forces in Byelarus, develop conditions of their stationing there, establish the principles for solving all problems, and social issues connected with their temporary staying on the territory of our republic are among them'." According to the adviser, the agreement "is not considered as entering a military union...because this draft document does not envisage 'a possibility of waging joint military operations.'"

Moldovan Defense, Security Ministers Reportedly Fired

ITAR-TASS reports that, according to "trustworthy sources," Moldovan Defense Minister Ion Costash and National Security Minister Anatol Plugaru were "relieved of their duties on Thursday [16 July]."

Rome Meeting on Nagorno-Karabakh Postponed

LD1507170292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] An extraordinary meeting on preparing an international conference on Nagorno-Karabakh has been postponed in the Italian capital. The meeting, according to its chairman Italian diplomat Raffaelli, should have opened in Rome today, but not all the participants confirmed their presence. It is assumed that in the first place, the Armenian delegation is under discussion here. The Armenian delegation proposed a condemnation of Azerbaijan's aggression against Nagorno-Karabakh as a condition for resuming talks interrupted on 6 July.

NATO Patrols Off Yugoslav Coast Viewed

PM1407142192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jul 92 p 3

[Report by Major S. Sidorov: "NATO Concentrates Its Navy in the Adriatic"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] NATO has started concentrating its naval forces in direct proximity to Yugoslavia's Adriatic coastline. As ITAR-TASS reported, two warships from the Italian Navy have already started patrols "with the aim of ensuring the observance of economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro." Another 16 NATO warships are heading for the Adriatic.

The North Atlantic bloc's decision to send them to the Yugoslav coast was made jointly with the Western European Union [WEU]—NATO's "European prop." Observers note that this is the WEU's first autonomous action in the military sphere. According to Italian Foreign Minister Vincenzo Scotti, the fact that the West European forces are participating in the operation to patrol the Adriatic does not mean that they will be drawn into the Yugoslav conflict; this is intended notably to "ensure the supply of humanitarian aid" to Bosnia. However, all aggressions in the recent past started on similar harmless pretexts.

In view of the unilateral nature of the sanctions—which units of NATO ships have been called upon to monitor—this step will most likely be seen in a different light, namely as the escalation of interference in the Yugoslav conflict.

Lithuania's Landsbergis Addresses CSCE Summit

LD1307130292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Excerpts] The CSCE summit in Helsinki ended today. [passage omitted] Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, in his speech at the session, unequivocally doubted the success of the mechanism, having in mind the 15th paragraph of the Helsinki document. He said: Unfortunately, most of our proposals on security, which we do not have, and the guarantees which have not been granted to us by the CSCE, have disappeared from the 15th paragraph. This should reduce confidence in an organization which proudly includes the word "security" in its name.

Mr. Landsbergis also stressed that the 15th paragraph of the Helsinki Declaration does not mention anyone behaving unlawfully. It seems, Mr. Landsbergis said, that we, the Baltic states, are compelled to agree either among ourselves or with an unknown foreign state because the foreign army is mentioned without being named. I think that the hard-hitting speech by Mr. Landsbergis made an impression.

Before the conference closed, the chairman of the Supreme Council read an interpretation statement; that is, an explanation of how Lithuania understands the Helsinki document. This states: Lithuania accepts the Helsinki concluding document 1992, especially drawing attention to the 15th paragraph of the political declaration. This document reflects the vitally important interests of the Baltic state.

Today Mr. Landsbergis met with U.S. President Bush, James Baker, and U.S. state counsellor [name indistinct]. Mr. Landsbergis explained Lithuania's stance regarding the Russian Army. President Bush replied that he understands our problem [words indistinct]. It is not clear what this means in reality. Basing my opinion on Estonian sources I can say that the Estonian ambasador in Helsinki, Mr. Meri, frankly stated that Mr. Bush had no clear stance regarding Russia. (?Being almost at a loss) the U.S. President replied that this was true.

The chairman of the Supreme Council had a meeting today with Kazakh President Nazarbayev and Ukrainian President Kravchuk.

I would like to end my last report from Helsinki by quoting the interpretation statement by Lithuania: Lithuania expects from all CSCE members joint [words indistinct] and reserves for itself the right to raise our cause on any occasion and when we find it necessary to do so.

CIS Peacekeepers To Be Used in 'Hot Spots'

LD1607045292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2020 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Novosti" program]

[Text] Representatives of the staff of the Caucasian Military District arrived in Tskhinvali by helicopter today in order to attend the festive ceremony of the withdrawal of the Russian helicopter regiment from South Ossetia. Some units are leaving while others are taking up positions in the Tskhinvali area. On Wednesday [15 July], the deployment of the interethnic Russian-Georgian-Ossetian forces for disengaging the warring sides in the area of the conflict took place there. Judging from the reports by news agencies, the operation passed without problems. Russia's Defense Ministry did not confirm the information received by the INTERFAX agency from the plenipotentiary of Georgia's State Council in Gorisskiy rayon, Daliashvili, about incidents involving Russian servicemen during their entry into the Tskhinvali region.

[Correspondent M. Maksimovskaya] The deployment of interethnic forces in South Ossetia could quite easily become a model for the settlement of military conflicts in other regions of the Commonwealth as well. At least the creation of joint forces on the model of the UN Blue Helmets for disengaging warring sides in interethnic conflicts is for now the first agreement of the CIS leaders in the military sphere whose realization was indeed implemented in practice, even though, as regular CIS units, the Blue Helmets are only just about to be formed under the command of Deputy Commander of the Joint Forces of the Commonwealth Boris Pyankov. The possibility of the use of peacekeeping forces in other hot spots will be one of the main issues at tomorrow's meeting in Tashkent of the ministers of defense and foreign affairs and the commanders of the border forces of the Commonwealth states. Moreover, it is assumed that issues connected with drawing up the CIS draft regulations and also the procedure for establishing the rights of citizens who were subjected to repressions and deportations will also be discussed. Evidently, the defense ministers, apart from the idea of setting up interethnic forces, will examine other military problems too, including those concerning dividing the former Soviet problems.

The situation that has come about in the Black Sea Fleet again reminded people of the complexity of these problems. Only yesterday the Fleet's commander, Admiral Kasatonov, accused Ukraine of wishing to quietly lay its hands on ships. He also claims that his home is under surveillance and that his telephone is being tapped by former Fleet counterespionage members who have gone over to Ukraine's side, and according to some reports, Ukraine's maritime border guards have attempted to prevent the passage of ships with conscripts from Russia. While the confrontation in the form of such petty dirty tricks continues, in 1991 the keel of not a single combat vessel was laid in Russia, for the first time since the times of Peter the Great. What is more, because of the shortage of funds, work on half of the approximately 130 ships whose construction was started earlier will have to be stopped. In the sailors' view, this is nothing other than the slow death of the fleet.

'Draft Documents' Prepared for Tashkent Meeting

LD1507125992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1206 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—Foreign and Defence Ministers from the Commonwealth of Independent States will meet in Tashkent on Thursday [16 July] to discuss a mechanism for deploying peace-keepers in areas torn by ethnic strife.

The high command of the Joint Armed Forces of the CIS has prepared draft documents regulating the functioning of a peace-keeping force. The proposals are now studied by experts. After they have been discussed by defence and foreign ministers, the package will be submitted to heads of CIS member-countries.

It is only possible to say preliminary what the Commonwealth's peace-keeping force will be like, Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, chief of the CIS Armed Forces Information Service, told TASS.

"We propose creating a peace-keeping force on the basis of Armed Forces of Independent States. In order for the peace-keeping force to function on a permanent basis, it should be a voluntary force," Manilov said.

Peace-keepers will be specially trained to perform specific tasks. In accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, CIS peace-keepers will carry weapons and will be allowed to use them to defend themselves, he said.

They will be allowed to use weapons in the case of "forceful suspension from performing their peace-keeping tasks, threat to their lives and civilians and in the case of armed attack by terrorist bands and groups", he said.

Weapons could also be used to separate armed formations, resisting a ceasefire by force and when fighting continues in the peace-keeping zone, he said.

Peace-keepers will wear white helmets with a blue band and letters "MS" (Russian for peace-keeping forces), as well as corresponding insignia.

States will be given quotas for providing peace-keepers in accordance with the strength of their Armed Forces. The peace-keeping force should not be burdensome for independent states and be capable to perform their duties, Manilov said.

The quotas, allocated each side, have yet to be discussed by heads of CIS states. Under the proposal, small national armies could provide up to a battalion, while other—several regiments or a division. If a state is unable to come up with enough peace-keepers, it will be assisted by other CIS states, he said.

The right to deploy peace-keepers will belong exclusively to the council of heads of states of the CIS. However, the force can only be used after a mutual request by conflicting sides to deploy peace-keepers. A deputy of the CIS Armed Forces commander-in-chief will supervise the creation of the force, which will be commanded by an officer, appointed by the council of heads of state, Manilov said.

The military propose setting up a unified peace-keeping staff, including representatives of Armed Forces of Independent States. The staff will supervise planning operations and coordinate the peace-keepers' operations.

Kozyrev Arrives, Comments

LD1607101192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Tashkent July 16 TASS—Russia will not act as a "gendarme" in the CIS peace-keeping force. The claims "do not correspond to reality", Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told reporters on Thursday [16 July].

He attended a meeting of CIS foreign and defence ministers discussing the creation of a peace-keeping force of the Commonwealth.

Kozyrev said he is satisfied with the fact that the issue developed from an agreement in principle among heads of state into a concrete project. "All the necessary preparatory work" for the creation of the force has been completed at the meeting in Tashkent, he added.

The agreement provides equal rights to all parties, meets international standards and does not in any way infringe on the sovereignty, equality and independence of the Commonwealth members, Kozyrev said.

The document adopted at the meeting in Tashkent defines the rights and tasks of CIS peace-keepers. The force will resemble the U.N. "blue helmets". Kozyrev believes foreign experts are to be employed to help create the force.

The CIS Armed Forces Command will be responsible for the creation of the force. It is important that any CIS state possesses peace-keepers like it is with the U.N. members, the minister stressed.

Meeting 'Behind Closed Doors'

LD1607110892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] The meeting of heads of CIS foreign policy and military departments is taking place in Tashkent. As reported by INTERFAX, Uzbek Foreign Minister Abdurazzaqov said that the aim of the meeting is to draw up documents to be considered and signed by the heads of the Commonwealth states at the forthcoming meeting in Bishkek on 25 September. In addition to other items previously included in the agenda, the final agenda of the conference now contains an item on the reliability of the guard of the CIS southern borders. Also on the agenda are the collective peacekeeping forces, the drawing up of a CIS draft statute, and a draft agreement on the restoration of rights to deported people and ethnic minorities on the territory of the former USSR.

The meeting is taking place behind closed doors, at the government country residence near Tashkent. A news conference is expected this evening.

Black Sea Fleet's Kasatonov on Destabilization

OW1407162592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral Igor Kasatonov held a press conference in Sevastopol today. Kasatonov blamed the Ukrainian Defense Ministry for unilaterally destabilizing the situation in the fleet. He referred to the latest incident of July 10 when the commandant's office was taken by force.

Igor Kasatonov said that 12 submachine-gunners of the Ukrainian Navy Commander, Rear Admiral Boris Kozhin, personal guard had been used for the seizure. Since the commandant, Vladimir Zverev, who took an oath of enlistment to Ukraine, refused to obey, Admiral Kasatonov removed him from his post.

Igor Kasatonov said that the process of taking the oath was based on the fist-law, for armed people were being engaged. [sentence as received]

As the Black Sea Fleet coast forces Commander, Major-General Romanenko said, a Ukrainian special unit numbered up to 2,000 people was stationed in Perevalni village between Simferopol and Yalta.

Comments on Ukraine's Actions

PM1607105192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jul 92 First Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Sheleketov: "Now or Never"]

[Text] The situation in Black Sea Fleet units is still difficult.

A news conference has been held at the main Black Sea Fleet base in Sevastopol by Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Fleet. The Black Sea Fleet Press Center reported that the meeting with the press was devoted to the Ukrainian side's unilateral breaches of bilateral agreements regarding the moratorium on making the personnel take an oath, and on the "privatization" of subunits and ships of the Black Sea Fleet.

Similar attempts to "Ukrainianize" Black Sea Fleet subunits are becoming increasingly frequent. The latest such action was the preplanned taking of the Ukrainian oath by officers of the city commandant's office. A guards platoon was brought into the building, and Major General Vilen Martirosyan, chairman of a Ukrainian Government committee, came to congratulate those who took the oath, promising them various material benefits on the latter's behalf and announcing that the Black Sea Fleet would be Ukrainian.

As is well known, the Officers' Assembly and its Coordinating Council have quite sharply opposed the Ukrainian side's actions, issuing a demand to the Ukrainian and Russian leadership for questions affecting the Fleet to be immediately resolved.

As Adm. Kasatonov stated, Ukraine's actions to "privatize" Black Sea Fleet subunits have been of a "strong-arm" [kulachnyy] nature—as is apparent in its use of troops and weapons. According to the information available, there are around 2,000 Spetsnaz soldiers in one Black Sea settlement, providing cover for similar "operations." Moreover, the admiral said that Rear Admiral Boris Kozhin, commander of the Ukrainian Navy, has a special timetable for oath-taking in the Black Sea Fleet, and a list is being drawn up of new recruits from Russia. In the commander's opinion, it is now more necessary than ever to observe the paragraph in the Dagomys agreement on the introduction of a moratorium on unilateral actions.

Ukrainian Diplomat on Russia Granting Visas

OW1407145292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1323 GMT 14 Jul 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's diplomatic missions abroad continue to grant citizens of third countries visas for entering Ukraine, said Ivan Padusenko, prominent member of the Consular Department of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry.

According to him, on March 11 this year his ministry notified all the parties concerned that visas for entering Ukraine granted by the representatives of Russian authorities are invalid.

Nevertheless, said I. Padusenko, Russian consular institutions "resort to all kinds of ruses to make an entry in the "Moscow-Kiev" visa, charging a fixed amount of money for this.

"As a result those who travel to Ukraine waste their money, since they have to pay for their entry visas twice".

Russia Stands for a Unified Visa Space in CIS Countries and Dismisses These Charges

Russia stands for a unified visa space in CIS countries, said Vasiliy Vinogradov, leader of the Russian Foreign Ministry's consular service.

The first round of consultations on this issue has already been held in Minsk, he told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent. A spokesman for Ukraine took part in it. However Ukraine's Foreign Ministry filed no official protests to Russian consular institutions abroad either at that time or later.

According to the diplomat, for some time after Ukraine had unilaterally introduced new entry rules, without preliminary consultations with Russia or other CIS partners, Russian consular institutions abroad did issue visas for entering Ukraine.

They did so for purely humanitarian considerations. "Many foreigners were not used to the possibility of entering the formerly Soviet territory without visa and receiving it at Kiev's airport. So they came to Russia's consular institutions abroad to demand that the necessary documents for entering Ukraine be given them "just in case". [quotation marks as received]

Now this practice is being abandoned. All Russian consular institutions abroad have been notified of the new rules for entering Ukraine and of the need to explain all this to the foreigners who come for visas.

However V. Vonigradov says that sometimes exceptions are made for the same humanitarian considerations. "Foreigners decline to go to Ukraine, since they have no guarantees that entry visas will be granted to them locally".

According to the diplomat, the claims that Russia derives financial benefits from issuing visas for entering Ukraine are "simply not serious". "The amount of money charged for the issuing of a visa is so insignificant, that it is hardly worth speaking about", the Russian diplomat noted.

Estonia Develops Trade With Georgia, Kazakhstan

OW1507133992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1258 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Minister of Trade Andres Tamm arrives in Georgia on Wednesday [15 July] to sign an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

On Tuesday in Alma Ata Andres Tamm and Kazakhstan's Minister for External Economic Ties Syzdyk

Obishev signed an agreement on introducing the best-favoured nation regime in trade between the two countries.

According to the press service of Estonia's Ministry of Trade, the agreement will go into effect when the national banks of Estonia and Kazakhstan sign agreements on the procedure of settlements. Even though Kazakhstan joined the Customs Union with Russia, Russian import and export duties will not apply to the commodities exchanged between Estonia and Kazakhstan.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 16 Jul

LD1607055992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0424 GMT 16 Jul 92

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight the situation in hotbeds of tension—the Dniester region, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh. The "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" newspaper publishes a report from Tiraspol and Bendery entitled "Tragedy on the Dniester River. The City in Bullets".

The "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" points out that the deployment of the contingent of joint armed forces of Russia, Georgia and North Ossetia on the territory of South Ossetia has "cardinally changed the situation in the region". The newspaper writes that "a new armed force appeared in the political arena of the central Caucasus capable to put an end to assassinations".

The "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" newspaper writes that the last battalion of the peace-keeping force of over 700 volunteers from North Ossetia, set out from Vladikavkaz to Tskhinvali. The newspaper comments that the monthly earnings of a rank-and-file volunteer is about 8,000 rubles, while commanders get from 9 to 15 thousand rubles. A minor injury costs some 50,000 rubles, while a serious one—80,000 rubles.

The "TRUD", "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" and other newspapers report that leaders of the mass media addressed the Russian president in connection with a discussion by the Russian parliament of the issue of the mass media scheduled for July 16. They hope that the Russian president will not allow any infringements on glasnost.

The "PRAVDA" newspaper publishes an open letter by 89 senior officers of the 19th separate Air-Defence Army addressed to the Russian president, the Russian defence minister and the commander of the Russian air-defence troops, which points out to a difficult situation in Russian troops in the Trans-Caucasus which are actually left at the "mercy of fate". There is a growing number of incidents when officers voluntarily join national armed formations to earn their living, the newspaper writes. "We have only one wish—to return to our homeland, to Russia," the newspaper quotes officers as saying.

The "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" newspaper publishes an interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, who said that they were doing all in their power to preserve a single technological space.

According to Volskiy, the Union accounts for 73 percent of the production output in the country. Commenting on the sources financing the union, Volskiy denied that the CPSU had been involved in it.

A total of one billion dollars, allocated by the International Monetary Fund to increase Russia's currency reserve, is intended for the Russian Ministry of Agriculture and will be primarily used for "the development, support and creation of infrastructure of banks which will finance agriculture," Viktor Khlystun, Russian minister for agriculture, said in an interview with the "TRUD" newspaper. He said investments will be made in concrete programmes for sugar, elite seeds, cattle breeding, technical servicing for farmers.

The "PRAVDA" newspaper publishes an extract of a statement, made by Petr Abovin-Egides at the Russian Constitutional Court, who said that the last August's coup staged by the members of the Committee for the State of Emergency was merely a drop of black humour, a farce displayed by comedians, which only led to the strengthening of positions of pro-capitalists.

Abovin-Egides had to emigrate from Russia for political reasons and became president of the United Committee for the Protection of Andrey Sakharov.

The former dissident believes that the path of his life, "strewn with thorns" generously granted to him by the CPSU leadership and its bosses, gives him a moral right to accuse the Russian president, the TV, etc. At the same time he comes out in support of 18 million rank-and-file communists and the communist idea itself.

The "PRAVDA" newspaper continues publications discussing whether the Russian president's decrees banning the Communist Party were in compliance with the Constitution.

The "TRUD" newspaper publishes an article which reflects the position of the Japanese Embassy in Russia on the problem of the four disputed islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan and Khabomai. "Japan comes out for the return of the four islands not from revanchist positions or pursuing minor economic interests. It wants to resolve the problem and assert mutual confidence in each other," the newspaper writes.

The Japanese Embassy points out that Japan has no intention to "buy the islands" taking advantage of Russia's current economic difficultues and believes that Japan will develop a long-term cooperation with Russia.

International Affairs

U.S.-Russian Development of 'Wingship' Viewed

LD1507105192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Plans are being discussed in the United States for the joint development with Russia of the Wingship [ekranoplan; video shows word Wingship on correspondence during report].

[Reporter B. Kalyagin] This vehicle's potential boggles the imagination. The Wingship will be able to carry 2,000 passengers and a 1,500-tonne cargo, take off from the surface of the water, fly above the water at a speed of up to 900 km per hour, and cover distances of 15,000 km. What you see at the moment is not the Wingship but its younger brother, which our engineers developed at the Alekseyev Design Office. Tests of the winged ship were carried out on the Caspian Sea. U.S. intelligence experts were stunned when they received pictures of the unknown vessel from a spy satellite, dubbing it the Caspian Sea monster. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording by A.V. Rozhdestvenskiy, identified by caption as a professor at the St. Petersburg Shipbuilding Institute] The establishment of two centers is planned: an American-Russian center in Hampton, Virginia, and a Russian-American center in Nizhniy Novgorod, the cradle, so to speak, or homeland of the Wingships. It is not out of the question that the first prototype could be developed by the end of the century. [end recording] [video shows footage of aircraft at sea, flying just above the water, and of the two interviewees in their separate offices.]

Potential of U.S. 'Hypersonic' Weapon Viewed

PM1607085992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Foreign Military Hardware: In the Laboratories and on the Test Ranges": "Hypersonic Strategic Missile"]

[Text] The U.S. Air Force is studying the possibility of creating a guided aviation weapon combining the hypersonic speed of a ballistic missile with the high maneuverability of a cruise missile. The possibility of creating such a weapon was first mooted in "Forecast-2," the U.S. Air Force draft long-term developments document, in 1988. According to Air Force spokesmen, the new missile could be air- or ground-launched and would be capable of developing a speed in the ballistic section of its trajectory corresponding to mach 20, after which it would enter the dense layers of the atmosphere and would continue flying at high gliding cruising speed [vysokoskorostnoy planiruyushchiy kreyserskiy polet]. The missile's design envisages using the results of research in the sphere of high-speed aerodynamics produced at the Aviations Systems Center at the Wright-Patterson U.S. air base.

The missile, named the HAW, could hit targets anywhere in the world using non-nuclear warheads with a flight time of 30 minutes at most. HAW guided hypersonic missiles are intended to hit large stationary targets.

According to specialists at the Air Force Aviations Systems Center, which did the research work on the HAW program, the system will not have a small radar cross section, as the missile will be easily detectable in the infrared spectrum because of the considerable aerodynamic heating of its surface. The missile will achieve high combat effectiveness thanks to its high speed and ability to maneuver against air defenses, which will enable it to avoid interception by various types of air defense systems.

According to sources close to the aviation industry, the missile's maximum horizontal flight range in the atmosphere could be over 5,500 km.

'Diplomat' Comments on Global Defense System

OW1507124592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1213 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" by diplomatic correspondent I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] Russia and the USA concluded their consultations in Moscow with the decision to set up 3 working groups to deal with practical issues connected with the efforts to create a global defence system. The Russian delegation at the consultations was led by Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov and the American by Undersecretary of State Dennis Ross, J. Baker's closest assistant. [passage omitted]

It's Not Too Hard To Adjust the Russian and American Concepts of Global Defence System, But This Will Require Additional Work

When asked by Diplomatic Panorama's correspondent to comment on the Russian-American statement, a high-ranking Russian diplomat who monitors relations with the USA has said that the consultations held in Moscow revealed both similarity and differences in the two countries' approaches to a number of issues.

According to the diplomat, the fact that the two sides realize the need for creating a global defence system which any other nation could join is of fundamental importance. Nevertheless the principles on which such a system could be joined are to be devised yet by the working groups set up in Moscow.

The experts are to define the functions of a joint international center for global defence in whose work the representatives of Russia and other countries would take part. This proposal was made by the Americans. "It means a step forward as compared with the initial idea of setting up an early warning center", the Russian diplomat said.

Nevertheless the talks in Moscow reveal certain differences which concern primarily two key issues.

First of all, Russia cannot agree with America's striving to build a system of global defence based on its own anti-missile system that would control Russian missile systems.

Secondly, Russia is "particularly concerned" over America's striving to revise the treaty on anti-missile defences and remove elements the Russian defence system is based on from it.

"The Americans suggest that the concept of a global system of defence against ballistic missiles should be worked out on the basis of anti-missile defences, but with departure from the treaty on anti-missile defence. As for Russia, it opposes this and calls for creating a global system of defence against any attacks", the Russian expert said.

In other words, he pointed out, at the moment there are two concepts of a global defence system: a Russian and an American. "It's not too hard to adjust them, since both sides are willing to work on this project". Besides, they realize that a global defence system must comprise a network of warning sensors and a system of interception.

Rutskoy Visits Moldova, Returns to Moscow

LD1407105292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Report by correspondent Dzhafarov; introduced by announcer Sergey Dorenko; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Dorenko] Aleksandr Rutskoy has completed his mission in Moldova and returned to Moscow. [passage omitted]

[Dzhafarov] The meeting at the military airport was highly secret. However, today it became known that Rutskoy's trip was carried out at the initiative of Boris Yeltsin. The deputy prime minister proposed his own variant of settling the conflict to both sides, having used the draft agreement between Russia and Georgia on settling the Tskhinvali conflict as a basis.

The Moldovan side has made a sensational statement. It suggests that deputies representing the Dniester republic should return to the Moldovan Parliament.

[Dorenko] Apart from that, according to the information obtained by our correspondent, the Dniester inhabitants were offered three ministerial offices and that of deputy defense minister in the Moldovan Government. [video shows shots of servicemen and hardware.]

Holds 'Working Meeting' 13 Jul

PM1507103592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 1

[Sergey Knyazkov and Anatoliy Stasovskiy report: "Dniester Region: Marauders May Wreck the Peace Talks"]

[Text] Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Russia's Minister of Security Viktor Barannikov, on instructions from Boris Yeltsin, held a working meeting with Moldova's President Mircea Snegur in Chisinau on 13 July, the main purpose of which was the development of Russian-Moldovan dialogue for settling the situation in the Dniester Region. The sides reached agreement on the continuation of contacts.

No more detailed information about this meeting was forthcoming from the Moldovan Ministry of Defense Press Center. As reported by Press Center Chief Gheorghe Muntianu, it was held behind closed doors.

Regarding the situation in the Dniester Region, Gheorghe Muntianu said that a lull has been in place in all positions except Bendery for four days now. As for Bendery, the City Police Department building had come under fire on several occasions during the evening of 13 July and the night of 14 July.

As the Moldovan Defense Ministry Press Center chief reported, Colonel Guslyakov, chief of Bendery's Police Department, contacted him at 0040 hours. He reported that the agreement on withdrawing armed formations and equipment from their positions was being blocked by a group headed by someone by the name of Nikolay Kostenko. Well armed, it had withdrawn from the ranks of Dniester Moldovan Republic guards. It was this group, according to the Bendery Police chief, that fired on both sides' positions, provoked clashes, and committed looting in the city center.

We contacted the Dniester Moldovan Republic Press Center. According to Press Center Spokeswoman Lyudmila Lapteva, Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy was in Tiraspol. He met with Republic President Igor Smirnov and the 14th Army command 13 July. The Dniester Moldovan Republic Press Center has no information on the content of the talks. Obviously, such information will become available following the Supreme Soviet session, but it can already be said that major hopes are being pinned on Aleksandr Rutskoy's arrival in the Dniester Region.

The situation remains complex, Lyudmila Lapteva went on, especially in the Bendery area. Shots can be heard there, and there were people killed and wounded overnight. Specifically, an attack by police forces against DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy], mortar fire, and the launch of three "Alazan" missiles were recorded at 2350 hours in Bendery. One person died as a result of this fire.

In the Press Center spokeswoman's opinion, the complex situation in Bendery is due to the fact that the city center is controlled by guardsmen while OPON [special purpose police detachment] forces are in the suburbs. Moreover, they have reinforced their positions in the obvious hope to seize the city.

The 3 July statement by 14th Army Commander Major General Aleksandr Lebed to mass media representatives is still being discussed.

"The military must deal with military matters, not give appraisals of constitutional structures or make political statements," Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Republic of Byelarus Supreme Soviet, told an RIA correspondent while commenting on the 14th Army commander's statement which was published by Byelarusian newspapers.

But, in Stanislav Shushkevich's opinion, this does not mean that the military must distance themselves from politics. For example, the Byelarusian defense minister takes part in virtually all political meetings of the republic's leadership. He was also a member of the Byelarusian delegation in Helsinki.

Meanwhile Colonel Aleksandr Baranov, deputy commander of the 14th Army for work with personnel, whom we managed to contact, emphasized yet again that Maj. Gen. Lebed's statement was based on a summing up of the statements, wishes, and proposals made by officers' assemblies in 14th Army units. Army officers have repeatedly noted that the army commander's statement was "well-timed, extremely necessary, and in line with current realities, the actual situation, and the mood of the officers' corps."

Col. Baranov added that the situation in the Army as a whole is normal, and work is progressing as planned. There are certain complications caused by the situation in the Dniester Region, but the Army plays no part in the conflict.

Meets Moldovan President

LD1507160292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1523 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 July—It is possible to reach agreement on settling the conflict in the Dniester region in the very near future, in fact. This was stated by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. He spoke to journalists today on the results of his trip to that region. This confidence of the vice president is based on the results of his conversations with the leadership of Moldova and the leaders of the Dniester region. The conversation with [Moldovan President] Mircea Snegur, Aleksandr Rutskoy said, was confidential and frank. It can be felt that the Moldovan president is concerned about what is happening in the republic.

As to the leadership of the Dniester region, the vice president said, it is also in favor of settlement. But they have "tactical approaches of their own" which differ from the Moldovan approaches. However, the vice president said, compromise can be found.

Aleksandr Rutskoy stated that a number of documents are currently being prepared to form the basis of a peace agreement for the Dniester conflict. After talks between the Moldovan and Dniester leaderships, this agreement "will be signed by the three presidents, and Russia and Ukraine will be guarantors that it is honored," Rutskoy said. He added that during his visit, the issue of the Russian 14th Army, which is stationed in the area, had arisen. Troops, including Russian ones, he continued, are needed to disengage the two sides. Rutskoy believes that the Dniester region should be accorded a special status. "I won't say just yet what kind of status, because these issues will be decided by the presidents when they meet, but such a status is obviously required," he stressed.

Establishes Principles of 'Compromise'

LD1507185592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Report by unidentified correspondent on Vice President Rutskoy's visit to Moldova, including recorded remarks by Rutskoy made during "exclusive interview" for Ostankino Television "just a few hours ago;" from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The visit of Russian Vice President Rutskoy to Moldova has introduced noticeable corrections into Russian-Moldovan relations. Having adopted the role of an intermediary, Rutskoy has established the four principles of a compromise in the Dniester region: a ceasefire, the disengagement of the military formations, the introduction of peacekeeping forces, and the return of Dniester deputies to the Moldovan Parliament. Here is what he said today in his exclusive interview to our program just a few hours ago.

[Rutskoy] After all the negotiations conducted by the Ministry of Defense, we have succeeded in embarking on specific actions and taking real steps toward solving the conflict, not only in the Dniester region but also in South Ossetia. I believe that from now on events will begin to develop in a positive direction.

On the instruction of Boris Nikolayevich, following the negotiations we have prepared a package of documents of the same nature as the Dagomys Agreement. The questions of the Dniester region were also touched upon in Turkey—at the meeting of the presidents—and in Geneva. At present we are engaged in preparing the documents on the agreement and accord between the Moldova president and the Supreme Soviet of the Dniester Republic. I think that Ukraine as well as Russia and Moldova will give its consent to become guarantors to the settlement of this conflict situation. I think Byelarus and Bulgaria, as well as other neighboring states, will also join in.

Grants Interview on Meeting

OW1507190292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1833 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy maintains there is every reason to expect that Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine will soon sign an agreement on the settlement of the Trans-Dniester conflict. In an interview to an Interfax corespondent, Aleksandr Rutskoy said that Russia and Ukraine are going to become the guarantors for resolving this problem.

Focusing on his recent visit to Moldova on Boris Yeltsin's assignment, the Russian vice president pointed to the "package of documents patterned after the Dagomys agreements", currently coordinated, as one of the foremost results of his efforts. These documents will be discussed with Moldova's president and the Supreme Council of the Dniester Republic.

"I also believe that Byelarus, Bulgaria, and other border countries will join the peace process in this region," the vice president said. In his opinion, "in the near future, the situation in Dniester will have positive developments". Aleksandr Rutskoy came to this conclusion following his discussions with Moldova's president Mircea Snegur and leader of the Dniester Republic Igor Smirnov.

"The parties have certain disagreements in their methods of approaching this problem," the vice president went on, "but both sides are equally interested in a peaceful settlement of the conflict".

Novosti Denies Bribe From Dniester Supporters

LD1507091292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jul 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The MOLDOVA-PRES agency today published a report, quoting reliable sources, that our journalists received 50 million rubles from the people of the Dniester region to take an anti-Moldovan line. The item cites the surnames of these journalists, my colleagues. I can assure you that the 50-million-ruble bribe has not reached us; we continue to find consolation in proverbs like this one: Happiness does not lie in wealth, and poverty is not a vice.

Demands Apology Over Bribe Report

LD1507114092 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Jul 92

[Report read by announcer Tatyana Mitkova; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The MOLDOVA-PRES agency yesterday issued a report under the headline "Journalists Receive Bribe." I quote:

It has been learned from reliable sources that a few months ago the Tiraspol magnate Bolshakov handed Moscow Television reporters a sum of 50 million rubles [R] to boost the independence struggle of the people of the Dniester region, the Chisinau weekly GLASUL NATIUNII writes. Thus, Tatyana Mitkova, who got her job with the Ostankino Television Company not without the help of that friend—the last word in quotes—of the Moldovan people Ivan Petkov, received a gift of R1.5 million, while Mikhail Osokin contented himself with a mere R900,000. Stringers received from R100,000 to R500,000 each.

I am not the least bit interested in who made this up, who passed the disinformation to the Moldovan paper, or why Moldova's official agency took such interest in it. The journalists possibly went after a scoop without thinking of the consequences. Be that as it may, I expect a public and exhaustive apology very soon. Otherwise, gentlemen of GLASUL NATIUNII and MOLDOVA-PRES, you will be hearing from my lawyer. I am waiting, but I do not plan to wait long. The same goes for my colleague, Mikhail Osokin.

Delegation in Japan Discusses Peace Treaty

LD1607014792 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0130 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 15 Jul—The meeting of the working group on the peace treaty between the two countries that opened today in Tokyo is expected to be one of the final preparatory stages before Russian President Boris Yeltsin visits Japan in September. The Russian delegation is headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze while the Japanese delegation is headed by Kunihiko Saito, deputy foreign minister for political affairs. It is expected that the two sides will discuss drafts of a joint statement and other documents, which may be adopted during the visit, including agreements between Russia and Japan on cooperation in space research and prevention of incidents at sea. They will also discuss the question of talks that the foreign ministers of the two countries could hold on the eve of the high level visit.

The working group will pay particular attention to the problem halting the conclusion of the peace treaty, that is the territorial problem of the islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Khabomai, and Shikotan vigorously claimed by Tokyo. [passage omitted]

Talks Held on Kurils

LD1507184492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1833 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov and Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo July 15 TASS—Moscow and Tokyo "remain on their previous positions" on the Kuril Islands claimed by Japan and these positions "do not coincide," said the Russian delegation participating in a two-day conference of the Russian-Japanese working group on the peace treaty in Tokyo.

"I think Russia's position has not changed," said a Japanese Foreign Ministry official who asked not to be identified.

Today's session focused on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's upcoming visit to Japan between September 14-15.

The Russian delegation to the conference is being led by Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze, and the Japanese delegation is headed by Deputy Japanese Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito.

Petition on Kurils Signed

OW1607063592 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 0220 GMT 14 Jul 92

[From the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] The Kurils are Russian Lands is the slogan under which the Far East Cossacks collected signatures in support of Kuril and Sakhalin inhabitants demands, to preserve the southern Kurils within the Russian sphere. According to Vitaliy Kumulyanov, the ataman of the Ussuryisk Cossack troops, more than 10,000 Kray inhabitants have signed the document. These are not only cossacks but also port workers, sailors, shipwrights, fishermen, and the peasantry and intelligentsia representatives. The signatures collected will be taken to the Russian Government in Moscow by a Cossack delegation.

Yeltsin To Sign 'Major Document'

LD1607064192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0630 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By Vladimir Solntsev, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo July 16 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will sign a major document during his forthcoming visit to Japan, according to the Russian delegation at talks on a peace treaty with Japan.

The document will be either a joint statement or a joint declaration which will comprise the basis for future relations between the two countries, according to the source.

The concrete documents to be signed during the visit are to be determined on Thursday [16 July], during the last day of the meeting of the Russian-Japanese working group. The delegations are headed by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Kunadze and his Japanese counterpart Kunihiko Saito.

It is expected that agreements on space cooperation and on averting incidents at sea will be signed during the visit. An agreement on establishing new consulates general may also appear.

The Russian delegation proposed to prepare a general document on principles of trade and economic cooperation, but it is believed to be premature.

The number of agreements does not matter, the source said, adding that former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed two dozens of agreements during his visit to Japan and none of them is working. Agreements should be concrete and promote cooperation in various fields.

Gorbachev's visit was "a goal in itself", while Yeltsin's visit should initiate new relations with Japan, according to the source.

Delegations Fail To Agree on Kurils

LD1607082192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0654 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo July 16 TASS—The Russian and Japanese delegations at talks on a peace treaty which ended here on Thursday [16 July] failed to agree on the most complicated issue in bilateral relations. The problem of southern Kuril Islands was not reflected in the drafts of a joint document which the sides exchanged at a two-day meeting. The document is to be signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his visit to Japan in September.

No new initiatives or ideas were advanced on the problem at the meeting, TASS learned from sources of the Russian delegation headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze. His counterpart Kunihiko Saito heads the Japanese delegation.

The two sides succeeded to agree upon two concrete documents on state cooperation and prevention of incidents at sea.

Kunadze Refuses To Confirm Plan

LD1607083392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0747 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo July 16 TASS—Visiting Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Kunadze qualified as "abuse of office" a recent statement of a Russian parliamentarian who said a "three-stage plan" of returning the disputed Kuril Islands to Japan in 1992 has been worked out by the administration of the Russian president.

The news was published by the Japanese "NIHON KEIZAI" newspaper which quoted Iona Andronov, deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations.

"It is an example of how certain parliamentarians, pursuing selfish political goals, do not stop short of disclosing documents, if we admit that such a document existed at all", Kunadze told TASS on Thursday [16 July].

He attended two-day talks of the Russian-Japanese group preparing the forthcoming visit of the Russian president to Japan.

Kunadze refused to either confirm or deny the existence of the document. "I am not going to comment on that (statement) as it is not in question at present. It is important to understand that huge files of documents circulate inside any administration and no administration is obliged to either confirm or deny their existence. But disclosing such documents is a state crime, no matter what (political) stand the person supports", Kunadze said.

Working Group Ends Meeting

LD1607135692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0830 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vasiliy Golovnin and Vladimir Solntsev]

[Excerpts] Tokyo, 16 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—At the two-day meeting of the Russian-Japanese peace treaty working group, which ended here today, the sides exchanged the drafts of a joint document on President Yeltsin's visit to Tokyo, which is scheduled for September.

However, they failed to advance any new ideas on the problem of the southern Kuril Islands. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze, who is heading the Russian delegation at the meeting, said in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent: There are still gaps in the document on this crucial issue.

After noting that the Russian Foreign Ministry is not conducting any secret negotiations, he said the meeting discussed the question of a peace treaty. The two countries have not had such a treaty since the end of World War II. A peace treaty, Kunadze said, is needed by both sides and by the whole of the world community. The fact that for almost 50 years there has not been such a treaty is a remnant of the cold war, and is a record in world history. This must be put right without delay.

In this connection, the Japanese Foreign Ministry notes that the two sides have now explored all possible judicial and historical arguments on the problem of the southern Kuriles, and the issue now awaits a political solution. [passage omitted]

Kunadze said that at the meeting, the Russian delegation told the Japanese that there is what he described as "a not always clean campaign conducted by the opponents of the Russian Federation Government" on the question of a peace treaty with Japan.

In this connection, he described as "scandalous" the interview with the Tokyo press by Ion Andronov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's committee for international affairs and foreign economy relations. He stated that the Yeltsin administration has plans to hand over all of the southern Kurils. Kunadze said that no one is obliged to say whether there is such plan or not, since "in the last 10 months a pile of papers with a huge range of options has been moving to and fro" in the government. However, if such a document really exists, the deputy minister said, it has been stolen from a high office and leaked, and this is criminally punishable. "I think that the competent bodies, the procuracy and the Supreme Soviet leadership, will sort out this matter and will deal with everyone concerned as they deserve," Georgiy Kunadze said.

Rutskoy Meets Afghan POW Representatives

LD1607012192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jul—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy met representatives for the public committee of the families of Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan in the Kremlin today. Aleksandr Rutskoy informed those participating in the meeting of the resolution adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet to request that the UN examine the issue of the release of all former Soviet servicemen still being held by the Mojahedin. According to Rutskoy, such a step is essential since the problem is taking a long time to resolve in spite of the efforts being undertaken by the Russian leadership. Aleksandr Rutskoy considers that the unequivocal view of the international community in support of the release cannot be ignored in Afghanistan.

In the words of the vice president, a special commission is to be set up to prepare the appeal to the next session of the UN General Assembly which opens in the autumn. It will include members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Ministry of Security, and the Committee for Archive Affairs. The main aim of the commission is to collect all the documents concerning the problems of prisoners, including top secret ones. Everything in these papers will be used, Aleksandr Rutskoy emphasized, with the exception of information about the circumstances of imprisonment. How a person was imprisoned and how he has conducted himself there can not be a topic for condemnation or discussion, the vice president emphasized.

Aleksandr Rutskoy expressed the hope that Russia's initiative will find support among leaders of CIS countries and in the UN. Meetings with the leaders of various countries during foreign trips permit me to count upon this, he stated.

Details of Checkpoints at Estonian Border Noted

OW1507193292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1833 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Border guard checkpoints of Russia's South-Western Border Guard Region have been placed this Wednesday [15 July] at all the main roads crossing the Russian-Estonian border. The border guards have been instructed to carry out "selective control" procedures until the final settlement of the border issue.

Speaking at a press conference in St Petersburg, Lieutenant General Pleshko, commanding the South-Western Border Guard Region, said that the length of Russia's borders with the Baltic states to be monitored by his units comprises 755 km, including 150 km of the sea and 150 km of the river border.

The Border Guard Region commander indicated that the border guard command is proceeding from the premise that Russia's state border with the Baltic countries will run along the line of the former administrative borders between Russia, Estonian, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The organization of the border control has been vested in the special operative group "Pskov" organic to the South-Western Border Guard Region command. The group will be composed predominantly of the border guard units which have been withdrawn from the former Baltic region.

According to the preliminary estimates made in the South-Western Border Guard Region, the government allocations for resolving all the logistics and social problems associated with the organization of the border would amount to 600-700 mn [million] rubles in 1992, totalling 10 bn [billion] rubles.

Russian Border Guards Leave Tallinn Sea Port

OW1507134192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1258 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tuesday evening [14 July] Russian frontier guards left their guarding posts in Tallinn sea port. The Estonian Department of frontier guard was informed about the corresponding order of the commander of the North-Western frontier district General Pleshko the same day.

Beginning 1991 the Estonian and Russian frontier guards were working in the ports together. The Russian officers trained their Estonian colleagues. In his interview with the newspaper "PAEVALEHT" the chief of the center of the Estonian department of frontier guard Aare Evisalu highly appreciated the assistance rendered by the Russian colleagues.

According to "PAEVALEHT", 50 frontiers guards who have left the Tallinn port will be sent to Pechory (southern portion of the Russian-Estonian border) to replace the fighters of Pskov OMON [special purpose militia detachment] (riot police).

There are 42 frontier posts of the Russian frontier guards in Estonia. Interstate negotiations are to be devoted to the discussion of the issue on their complete withdrawal.

Denmark Expels Russian Diplomat for 'Spying'

LD1507171492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] The Danish Government has decided to expel a Russian diplomat accused of spying. The Danes have arrested an employee of a state institution in connection with the case. Swedish radio reports that the Russian ambassador to Denmark was notified of the expulsion order today.

Trade, Economic Relations With Vietnam Resumed

BK1607082192 Moscow Radio Moscow in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 10 Jul 92

[Text] As reported by ITAR-TASS earlier, on 9 July a Vietnamese government delegation met with representatives of the Russian business circle at the Vietnamese Embassy in Moscow. Head of the Vietnamese delegation, comrade Tran Duc Luong, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, said that Vietnam and Russia are ready to strengthen their traditional economic relations.

At the meeting, coordination programs and new activities are discussed to expand contacts between Vietnamese and Russian businessmen, strengthen cooperation between nongovernmental agencies, and find more markets for each country's products. Comrade Dau Ngoc Xuan, chairman of the State Commission for Foreign Investment and Cooperation, also attended the meeting.

Comrade Dau Ngoc Xuan briefed the meeting on Vietnam's policy of attracting more foreign investment to build the national economy.

Both sides asserted that the factors creating favorable conditions for foreign investment are stability in the political, social, and economic domains and facilities for business activities.

Vietnam's unswerving stand to promote foreign trade and its efforts to promulgate the foreign investment law in 1987 have brought about initial yet encouraging achievements. During the past more than four years, licenses were granted to 450 investment projects with a total capital of $3.5 billion.

Those participating in the meeting expressed their confidence that with efforts by both sides, bilateral economic and trade relations between Vietnam and Russia will be resumed and developed, thereby contributing to overcoming the current economic crisis in the two countries.

Yeltsin Comments on Harvest, G-7, CSCE

LD1507153792 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1422 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Moscow, Jul 15 (ITAR-TASS)—This year in Russia 96-98 million tonnes of grain crops are expected to be harvested, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin said during his meeting with journalists yesterday. On the whole the harvest will be a little up from last year. Speaking about the program for the intensification of reform, Boris Yeltsin observed that its stages have been laid down not just for the second six months of 1992 but for 1993 and 1994. "If everything goes as planned, and that is what we believe in, the process will become irreversible," he said. The last three months, in the opinion of Boris Yeltsin, "have yielded a very interesting result" as far as the ratio between prices and wages is concerned. While in April wage increases were 100 percent behind price increases, they are now just 75 percent behind."

Speaking about his trip to Munich, the president said that it "has effectively marked the end of the cold war." Boris Yeltsin said my task is to place our relations upon the rails of partnership. The collapse of reforms in Russia would be, in his opinion, a great blow not just for the G-7 but also for all of Europe and the whole world.

The president stated that it was also of great significance that the IMF, just as the "Seven", had recognized the program of reforms, agreeing at the same time that at present, fuel prices in Russia cannot be reduced. Initially, he continued, the IMF wanted to come to Russia with its classical scheme, without taking its uniqueness into account. "I warned: Several months ago I was not aware of the limit beyond which the trust of people in the reforms and the president could come to an end. Now it is visible," Boris Yeltsin stated. Today, if sharp movements are made which worsen the situation of the people, it may not hold out.

Dwelling on the situation in the CIS, the president of Russia expressed the view that a turning point had occurred at the Moscow meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth. "There were no disagreements at all at the last meeting," he stated. Initially, some people thought that it was possible to manage without us in all things, with an orientation to the West, but they saw the difficulties; the disruption of links is having a painful effect. In his words, mutual understanding arose at the Moscow meeting on the problems of nuclear weapons and on the issue of the need to set up coordinating institutions. "The inclination of Central Asian republics which had just been discerned toward cooperation with Asian neighbors to the detriment of cooperation with Russia was also replaced by an understanding of the fact that this is a strategic mistake."

Touching on Russia's policy with regard to Asian countries, Boris Yeltsin stated that to call Russian foreign policy pro-Western "would not be entirely objective." "Starting from the fundamental issues, we had to seek to reach agreement on an unprecedented reduction of the nuclear potential." "Thus it turned out that at first we sorted out relations over there and now we shall move consistently toward the East," he added.

In conclusion, the president of Russia expressed the certainty that in the near future there will be neither a new putsch nor major interethnic conflicts in Russia.

Minister Aven on Significance of G-7 Meeting

MK1607114592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 29, 19 Jul 92 (Signed to Press 14 Jul 92) p 5

[Article by Petr Aven, minister of foreign economic relations, under the "In the World" rubric: "Munich: Open Sesame"]

[Text] The main idea of the Munich meeting, in which Yeltsin participated, was to make the transition from relations of polite and even amicable confrontation between the West and Russia to relations of real partnership. It is one thing when you enter a house as an invited acquaintance and quite another when you enter it as one of the initiators. In our opinion—and, so it seems to us, in the opinion of our partners—this move on Russia's part to the category of "the initiators" was the main substance of the meeting. This was how it differed from the London conference of "the Seven," which Gorbachev attended as leader of a communist power, albeit a changing power but still a communist one. There could be no question then of turning "the Seven" into "the eight" by adding Russia, but now in principle at least, this possibility is admitted.

The topic of the switch to a partnership with Russia, which was aired in the speeches of Kohl and Bush, had real economic consequences for us.

Above all, an important step was taken in Munich toward extending to Russia the same economic regime as "the Seven" countries have adopted in relations among themselves. We do not have this regime at present, and we encounter various export and import restrictions. The Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] lists still operate. They have been lifted for the Baltic region, Poland, and Hungary, but not for Russia. Restrictions still apply in our bilateral ties with the Americans—which, in particular, prevents us from cooperating in the sphere of high technologies.

Russia is incurring palpable economic losses because of this. We have many commercial offers—for example, to use our rockets to launch U.S. satellites. But since satellites come under export controls and there are fears in the United States that we will thereby gain access to U.S. space technology, such deals are blocked.

The second manifestation of a discriminatory attitude toward Russia is the preservation of various nontariff barriers in the way of its exports. The business of the Russian uranium is well known. They accused Russia of selling it at dumping prices and imposed on us a temporary duty of 115.8 percent—which virtually closes the uranium market to us. But in actual fact, if you take a serious approach to this, uranium can in no way be regarded as a product of dumping, for dumping is when a state deliberately undercuts export prices. It is simply that we have very inexpensive techniques for producing and enriching uranium—the best in the world, incidentally. The Americans, by protecting their own uranium producers, close the market to us. We encounter similar problems both in West Europe and in Japan.

If the discriminatory barriers were lifted, Russia could, according to our estimates, receive $3-4 billion a year. Therefore we raised the question of eliminating all these survivals from the past. The West has its own bureaucracy, however, which has an interest in all these lists and restrictions and puts up definite resistance to their removal.

On this plane Munich was a fundamental turning point for us. Agreement was reached at the level of the leaders of "the Seven" on the removal of the barriers that still exist. The intention to make Russia a member of GATT, where we still have observer status, was also declared in Munich. This will mean, in practice, the standardization of the trade regime for Russia with that of other countries.

Munich signified, finally, a switch to partnership with "the Seven" in the matter of alleviating the problem of Russia's foreign debt (it is responsible for 61 percent of the USSR's debts).

We began talks on this question as early as last November, but we felt for a long time that our partners did not believe in the firmness of our intentions to implement reform. They kept us all the time on a short leash, not letting us conclude a long-term agreement in this sphere. The Munich meeting marked the switch from the "short leash" strategy to a strategy of confidence. The West acknowledged the seriousness of our economic reform. Agreement was reached in principle on the conclusion of a long-term agreement on the restructuring of our debt.

Naturally, it would be naive to think that the situation will at once change drastically for us. In Munich, Russia joined the "club of seven" as a partner for the first time. The process of mutual acclimatization is only beginning. Incidentally, this was emphasized by all the participants in the meeting. There the door was opened for Russia to move in the direction of rapprochement with "the seven." Now everything depends on Russia itself.

Results of Yeltsin Visit to Finland Viewed

PM1507105992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 92 p 7

[Report by correspondent Aleksey Boldinyuk: "Too Early To Open Borders at the Moment. Restrained Reaction by Finland to Russian President's Visit"]

[Text] Helsinki—The Russian president's official visit lasted one day. On 11 July Boris Yeltsin had time to beat Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho at tennis, speak at a ceremony in connection with the signing of three new Russo-Finnish treaties, and make a trip to President Mauno Koivisto's summer residence "Kultaranta." What he proclaimed in Helsinki appealed to the Finns. The harsh pronouncements about the impossibility of changing the borders, dashing the hopes of some of this country's citizens for the Karelian Isthmus' return, did not bring negative emotions.

Politically speaking, there are no problems between our states, and this permeated the talks with the Finnish Republic's leaders. This certainly cannot be said about our economic relations. Trade has almost come to a halt, and firms continue to go bust without waiting for payments from the bankrupt state. A debt of 6 billion [no currency specified] continues to weigh down on our country, scaring off Finnish businessmen from concluding new contracts and making new investments. Russia has proposed to its neighbors that they buy more military products. Meeting with leading entrepreneurs, Yeltsin called on them not to tarry, having stated that the doors to Russia will remain open for another year or two. However, it is not expected that there will be an influx of Finnish capital here. No end to the crisis in Russia is in sight, and barter—on which the Finns pinned many hopes—will be limited.

Russia has also rejected the idea of duty-free trading, which was discussed six months ago during Burbulis' visit. It was planned to open a special account in one of the Finnish banks to buy up goods, but there simply has been no decision adopted about this. Nevertheless there are opportunities for collaboration, of which the president spoke during a visit to a power station of the IVO concern near Turku. Russia would be able to modernize its power stations with Finnish assistance and sell more electric power to Finland.

The Russian leader's words about the possibility of an ecological disaster if toxic substances seep into the sea from German containers on the bottom of the Baltic Sea from the time of World War II engendered great interest among the local press. Yeltsin and Koivisto intend to come out with an initiative to develop a special program to prevent the danger of a catastrophe.

Nevertheless Boris Yeltsin's visit to Finland did not bring a breakthrough in full-scale economic cooperation which, incidentally, hardly anyone even expected. Relations between our countries will be good-neighborly, the president assured. However, for as long as instability remains in Russia, the Finns' trust in such assurances will be very restricted.

Yeltsin's proposal to resolve the "Karelian question" by making the Russo-Finnish border "semi-transparent" provoked a negative reaction here. The journal SUOMEN KUVALEHTI commented on Yeltsin's proposal as follows: "It is not right to weaken border controls in these unstable times because a stream of people, both criminals and other undesirable visitors, may rush across it."

Columnist Criticizes Third World Foreign Policy

MK1507104392 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jul 92 p 2

["Opinion" column by Vladimir Pechkurov: "Our Presence in Third World in Jeopardy. On 'Pragmatism' in Russian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The present simplistic understanding of pragmatism is a kind of rejection of the foreign policy practice that was current during the years of the CPSU's omnipotence. At that time considerations of economic expediency were pushed far into the background. No expense was spared for the sake of strengthening military-political positions abroad (frequently quite unnecessary) or to support "friends." It was with uncommon ease that the following sentence was written down at the end of a CPSU Central Committee resolution: "Costs to be met out of the reserve fund of the USSR Council of Ministers."

We now have a different extreme: a desire to obtain an economic return without delay and from a certain range of sources. Tactics are prevailing over strategy, and the assimilated geopolitical space is narrowing unjustifiably.

There is a danger that—quailing before the present difficulties—we will lose for a long time to come our political, economic, and military presence in those parts of the world where we asserted it over decades at the price of great effort and costs. I have collected dozens of press cuttings of speeches by our leaders concerning "foreign policy priorities." You get the impression that they were "geared" ["zatsiklennyy"] now to the United States, now to West Europe, now to "nearby foreign parts."

Our "pragmatists" like to advocate "Atlanticism." In the Atlantic alliance itself, however, cracks are growing deeper, as the Europeans are concerned about whether the United States, remaining the only superpower, will return to the "pax Americana" ("peace American-style") idea. If a split really happens, what will happen to the unified Western aid program for Russia? To where will our priorities shift?

The end of the cold war has also resulted in the world's deeper split along the North-South axis. Since Russia has interests in common with developing countries on a number of important problems, our counterversion of "Atlanticism"—"Eurasianism"—could also be subjected to serious tests in this case. At the same time profound changes are also occurring in the Asia and Pacific region, which people in our ministerial offices are now accustomed to ignoring. I have already spoken of its impressive economic growth, but the states of the region are faced with major problems of maintaining peace, security, and stability. We are dismantling our base at Cam Ranh in Vietnam, and the United States is drastically reducing its military presence in the Philippines. Many figures in the Asia and Pacific region regard this process as the emergence of some "power vacuum." Some already imagine the "flags of the Land of the Rising Sun" flying over the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Statements are being made to the effect that the Asia and Pacific region, and Southeast Asia in particular, are already on the threshold of a "Pax Nipponica" ("peace Japanese-style").

The leading states of the region, particularly Indonesia, are unenthusiastic about such a prospect. They are seeking new geopolitical opportunities. In particular, the center of the Nonaligned Movement, which came into being in response to the threat of a nuclear conflict between the United States and the USSR and under present conditions is assuming the functions of a defender of the developing countries' interests, will evidently move into Southeast Asia. It is hard to reconcile yourself to the thought that relations with the Nonaligned Movement and with its new chairman—Indonesia—are artificially being shifted onto the periphery of Russian diplomatic activity.

Genuine pragmatism is inconceivable now without regard for the real multipolarity of the modern world. Integrating ourselves in it, we must, naturally, abide by the existing rules of the game, but only to the extent to which they are really recognized internationally and do not serve as a cover for the interests of a particular power, if not a specific multinational monopoly. It is not that hard to fathom out whether our deal on rocket technology with India will harm the cause of international security or just the monopoly pretensions of the General Dynamics Corporation, for example.

Accordingly, a system of counterbalances is needed to really implement a pragmatic foreign policy. We must not "put all our eggs in one basket." Ideological obstacles to the development of relations with many states have now fallen away. Our diplomatic presence can be used by them as a deterrent factor against the excessive strengthening of the role of a particular economically strong power in their region. For us the maintenance of such a presence means more degrees of freedom in the choice of foreign policy alternatives.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Interviewed on Current Issues

LD1507192992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1750 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Interview with Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin by Russian Television political observer Georgiy

Dolgov; IZVESTIYA observer Otto Latsis; and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Aleksandr Sabov in Moscow on 14 July; introduced by Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov—recorded]

[Text] [Kostikov] Today we have an opportunity to put questions to Boris Nikolayevich and receive answers to issues of concern to us. Taking part in today's meeting are political observer Georgiy Dolgov of Russian Television; IZVESTIYA observer Otto Latsis; and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Aleksandr Sabov.

[Dolgov] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, this last month has certainly been very eventful. It included Dagomys, the United States, Helsinki, and Munich, and has also been eventful on the domestic scene. So my question is this: How do you assess this month and its results? Which events do you consider to be the most important?

[Yeltsin] I would probably single out one that you did not mention, meaning the fairly thorough examination and approval of the program to deepen the reforms; its examination by the government and by the Supreme Soviet. After all the other programs, this was probably the first document to assess six months of reform and at the same time define the phases in which it will be implemented, not only for the second six months of 1992, but for 1993 and 1994 as well. And if things go the way that we think they will, then this process will become truly irreversible now that this program has been confirmed. I would single this out as the main event because it sets out the priorities: social welfare, agriculture, reduction of the rate of decline, stabilization of industrial output and the economy as a whole, finance, people's financial situation regarding wages, and further freeing of prices, especially fuel. Also, a number of other issues linked to the hourly and daily life of people in Russia. So this was, I would say, event number one.

The next most important: You know, it is hard to single out which was more important—Munich or Helsinki.

[Dolgov] Well, from your viewpoint.

[Yeltsin] Well, I think that Helsinki is of more global significance, since it provides the whole European Community, the CSCE—52 states—with future mechanisms for peace and cooperation among one another and development of cooperation. The main thing is that for the first time mechanisms existed, and were even drawn up in documents, to implement the plans we devised. This is very important. Never before has this existed within the CSCE. Munich was perhaps more local in significance for Russia, since it was a question of the Seven-plus-one formula—the seven heads of states of the world's industrially developed countries and the Russian president. This of course was very important for Russia.

[Latsis] Well, it is probably important for the Seven, too. They are close to becoming the eight. This is also an event for them.

[Yeltsin] Yes, you are right, because everyone recognized after discussions, very comprehensive discussions....[pauses] We discussed no fewer than two dozen practical issues concerning Russia and the G-7 countries because, as you know, there is something of a recession in the Western countries also right now. Therefore, they are very concerned about the way the reforms will go in Russia. If something occurs and, let us say, the bottom falls out of the reforms—which as president I rule out, but they take account in their forecasts of all possibilities—that will be a great blow to everyone, to the whole G-7, and not just to them but to all Europe and the entire world. Of course, they understood that. But the main point is that it was necessary for Russia to assert itself as a great power and, indubitably, to get involved in top-level politics worldwide so that Russia can be treated as a partner. This is very important. Therefore, the president took part there—so they were quite unofficial—only presidents and one other person from each state. Therefore, my task was to transform our relations: from going there to beg from rich uncles, to arriving there and stating that Russia will recover from this difficult position, regardless. But if assistance is given it will be less painful for people, and perhaps also less dangerous.

The main thing is to modify our relations to a partnership, not deterrence but partnership, which means that, effectively, we recorded the end of the cold war.

[Sabov] In this sense, Boris Nikolayevich, how did they evaluate the second stage of our economic reform? Did they understand it?

[Yeltsin] Yes. In the first place something happened here prior to the meeting. According to our agreement with President Bush, and Federal Chancellor Kohl, and others—and they of course exerted a definite influence—IMF President Camdessus came here. After discussions with me, Gaydar, and others, he decided that the first order of importance, even before the Munich meeting, was to open the door to the IMF. For us that was of course fundamentally important, as it was for the Seven. To start discussions there when the IMF had been circling us for the six months prior, quite unable to agree on a program or open up credit lines, might have meant that a truly constructive meeting might not have taken place. But the fact that the IMF has recognized the program and that the Seven have recognized the program for deepening economic reforms means a great deal. In particular the recognition of the fact that we cannot free fuel prices right now. Yes, we can raise them gradually, yes we can fix them, but we cannot free them because the population would simply not be able to bear such a blow. We know this. As the president of Russia I know this, but they do not feel this. They do not see it.

[Dolgov] When they heard about this though, they felt it as far as I can see.

[Latsis] We have made this clear to them, and clearly this also constitutes an answer to all the talk about conditions being imposed on us, that we are being grabbed by the throat and being brought to our knees. We are talking on equal terms, we are saying that these conditions do not suit us, and we are being listened to.

[Yeltsin] Absolutely correct. At the beginning the IMF wanted to apply its scheme to us for many months.

[Latsis] It is standard.

[Yeltsin] It is the standard, classic program, suitable for Portugal, Spain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and others. But Russia is unique and the reform is unique. After all, for 74 years Russians have not known what private property is, what enterprise really is...

[Latsis, interrupting] What a market economy is.

[Yeltsin] What a market economy is.

[Latsis] Several generations have come and gone.

[Yeltsin] Yes, the third generation has arrived. Even the concepts of enterprise and private property have been wiped from memory. People are now gradually beginning to somehow change themselves, to enter this market, this new order. But this is not easy. They understood after I warned—maybe three, four, five months ago, or six months ago; maybe they felt that the people's trust in the reforms, in the president, might end. And it is obvious. This must be very soberly instilled, understood, and I construct all policies accordingly. If there are any harsh movements today and harsh decisions which will further worsen the people's situation, they may not be able to bear it. Then it is the end of the reforms, and then all countries, including Western ones, will suffer far worse than they do now.

[Latsis] Boris Nikolayevich, when my colleagues and I were preparing for this meeting, you began with internal issues, despite the significance of Munich and Helsinki. We also thought about internal issues, about the serious issues of authority, and there were many questions about authority. But on the very last day—literally yesterday—events occurred which make us talk about one, maybe narrow, but very important circumstance. Yesterday, 14 July, the Supreme Soviet Presidium approved a draft, and is intending to introduce it for examination by the Supreme Soviet, which in our opinion simply reestablishes the totalitarian order of dominion over the mass media—over television, over radio, and over newspapers. As regards my newspaper, IZVESTIYA—where at the moment a meeting of the collective is taking place about these decisions—the proposal is to simply destroy it in its present state.

[Yeltsin] I think that nevertheless the Supreme Soviet will not take such extreme measures.

[Latsis] We hope not, as well.

[Yeltsin] Yes, I believe that. It has happened more than once that when there is a very difficult moment, a draft of a decision, a resolution, or a law which determines the fate—such an approach, such an examination, is in essence the fate of the mass media. Yes, one can and should complain about the mass media, about how they give the news, of course one can. But at the same time complaints can be leveled against anyone: the president, the Supreme Sovet, the government, the mass media, other authorities. This process of democratization is something new for Russia, and it would be naive to expect the mass media to be immune during this period. Yes, the media is suffering, temporarily, but so is everyone else. My attitude on this is not one of complacency because it frequently concerns me, but as you may recall when I met the editors in chief I did express the presidential policy of support for the mass media. There are isolated insults and minor things—the president does get insulted—but one cannot generalize and take the line that the mass media today are no good. That would mean that dictatorship and the old system would have to be brought back for the media. Back to coordination, back to show us your proofs, show us what you have filmed and what you will be putting on television tomorrow. All this would be a return to the old ways which, thank God, have gone....

[Sabov, interrupting] It would be worse. At least under the old ways we could [words indistinct, obscured by Yeltsin] there would be an information vacuum and then everything would be controlled by whoever had the monopoly on information.

[Yeltsin] I understand. So I have to say that today's events are very interesting. When powers are further separated, as under the Constitution, the link between these bodies of power is sometimes lost. It is interesting because of course it is a new situation for us as well. We were wondering how, when actually separating powers, we could at the same time carry out some kind of coordinating work between the powers so that one does not head in one direction and another in the opposite direction. We should move in the same direction—that of reform, improving living standards, improving the economy in Russia, especially since there is such a difficult transitional period. The president and the leaderships of the Supreme Soviet and the government are meeting today; meaning their chairmen and deputy chairmen.

And so, starting at 1700 today we are endeavoring to examine a broad range of questions, between the government and the Supreme Soviet for example, or sometimes between the president [and these bodies] so that if there is something somewhere then we will—if this format is suitable, and I hope it will be—turn it into a systemic process; I don't know, say once a month or once every two months, and we will continue to regulate issues prior to submitting these issues to the Supreme Soviet or the government. That is very, very important. I think that the question of the mass media will undoubtedly be the subject of our joint scrutiny today.

[Sabov] In connection with this, Boris Nikolayevich, I would like to remind you that there is a definition coined by the 19th century Russian statesman, Boris Nikolayevich

Chicherin, which is early democracy. Early democracy is characterized by chaos. Two defeats must be suffered before a single victory. But some development does, however, take place. What do you think, Boris Nikolayevich? You could not choose any epoch other than early democracy, which is just what you are talking about. Do you think, Boris Nikolayevich, that your presidency will be long enough to get through this period of early democracy and enter a period of mature democracy?

[Yeltsin] Yes is my reply to such questions—and on my travels I have replied to such questions—I have said that it will be very difficult up to 1996 for a president to follow a constitutional path. I believe that by 1996 I will undoubtedly have succeeded in getting through this period of early democracy, which is always very painful, and this, unfortunately, is of course natural. Any country that has been through this has suffered, and for several years. The main thing at present for us is economic stability, price stabilization, and the inception of some kind of improvement in people's lives, so that the people can endure the transition. In my view, this is the most important thing. All the other things people talk about around the president—forming different camps, and you know the media somewhat exaggerate this issue—in practice I would say that these implacable camps around the president are not so serious that it is impossible to resolve issues.

Recently we met at the Security Council, looked each other in the eye, and said: Who has what questions for whom? The government, the president, and the Supreme Soviet were there, and there was a frank conversation. Everything was clear—Rutskoy's position, Burbulis' position, Filatov's position, Gaydar's position, and what they differed on slightly. But most importantly they are conducting and will continue reforming, I am convinced of this.

[Dolgov] Boris Nikolayevich, we have been educated, we are instructed, we have the consciousness that authority is always personified. There was Krushchev's authority, there was Brezhnev's authority, and the period of Yeltsin's authority. Tell us, are you ready to assume responsibility for everything in Russia from the central structures down to, say, desolate rural settlements, rural soviets. After all, everything done is in your name and under your flag. Are you ready to assume responsibility for the decisions by these authorities, even if they contradict something in your policies, in your aspirations, in your ideas, regardless of the fact that they are in your name?

[Yeltsin] In the first place the president is responsible for everything. I do not reject this responsibility. Every citizen is protected by the president from lawlessness and so on, and he must do everything toward this. Yes, in the provinces there is opposition. Yes, in the provinces there are rayons, towns, oblasts, krays, some places of course, which do not agree with the actions of the soviet and the administration. Moreover, time is spent on explaining relations, even on open fights with each other, and then the population of that rayon, town, or oblast is dragged in and damage is caused. It is time for everyone to reject this way, to begin to act, and to begin trade. That is the question. Of course, in that regard lines are conducted, but if you remember, elections were held in 1989, and of course a number of soviets were simply blockaded by certain groups of people; you know what groups. I believe that in this sense the results of the Constitutional Court which is in session now will have very great significance. Very great significance.

[Dolgov] The conversation going on there—we are constantly present at the court and we know—on the residue of this Party nomenklatura, as I understand it, it is the nomenklatura remaining in their positions which you have in mind to disarm, at least in the eyes of the electorate, in the eyes of the population. [Yeltsin] I did have this in mind.

In general I anxiously await the Constitutional Court's decision.

[Latsis] But still, this has not turned out to be one of those political trials—as was envisaged. I should have said that it neither raised emotions within society nor attracted close attention.

[Yeltsin] Yes, you know, I agree with this. Maybe it is rightly so. You remember, of course, that after the putsch the decrees signed by me on the CPSU and Russian Communist Party [RCP] were adopted. At the same time, it was very clearly stated and outlined in the decree that individual communists do not bear responsibility, and their persecution based on the sole grounds of them being communists was categorically prohibited. This is important. Probably for the first time since 1917 we have not embarked on the course of revenge, so to speak. You understand, it is important that Russia has resisted doing this.

You know, if we are to move toward democracy, we cannot persecute 15-20 million people while at the same time putting the full blame on every working communist. After all, the overwhelming majority of them were doing honest work and were not guilty of the crimes committed against the people, against the world community. This is why many of the leaders I have met—and I held negotiations with dozens of them in Munich, Washington, Ottawa, and Helsinki—were saying: Let us set up joint commissions to study the archives. I agreed to such a proposal. Let us do it. If this affects, for example, Finland, let us investigate everything that concerns Finland, let us openly declassify those documents which are connected with the activities of the former CPSU central bodies, as well as those of the state.

[Latsis] There is a certain discussion in the court on the matter of declassification. A number of representatives are saying that this could damage the interests of the state. But we know that at some point it was mentioned in your decree that until the decision is made on the full issue of the archives, the former secrecy acts are to be maintained. As far as my experience of dealing with these things goes, the great majority of these documents do not contain the type of state secrets whose disclosure could damage the Russian state—such documents should, of course, remain secret—but 99 percent of these are secrets from the Soviet people.

[Yeltsin] I absolutely agree with you.

[Latsis] This is what we are talking about.

[Yeltsin] I have managed to study many documents, particularly those handed over from the safe of the former president of the Union. These were, of course, in the main documents which were simply specially hidden away, that is all. They do not contain any technological secrets with regard to weapons or to intelligence service residents' offices. Of course, every state has an external intelligence service and has intelligence agents and has resident agents. There is no question of our publishing the whole list of our resident agents.

[Latsis] With addresses and telephone numbers.

[Yeltsin, laughing] Yes, with addresses and telephone numbers. There is no question of this. But there are some crimes on an international level which one simply cannot conceal.

[Latsis] Support for terrorism.

[Yeltsin] Of course, of course. We have documents that would rock society, and perhaps we are delaying a little now because there are already many things in society which are too heavy a burden on people, and to apply even greater pressure with these very hard facts about the life of the country would make it even harder for the people. Therefore, we will delay things a little, but all the same, we will of course undoubtedly publish them.

[Sabov] A unique document of this sort is being published tomorrow in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. It concerns the preparations that were made for the events in Lithuania, where a special instructor was sent from the top here. We considered this document so important that we have already handed it to the Constitutional Court.

[Yeltsin] That is very good. There are many documents there, and not just documents. Even the leaders of some other countries have expressed the desire—those who were there in those times and who were persecuted—they were even prepared to come and take part, but it is evidently not worth turning this into an international court.

[Sabov] But information should be provided.

[Yeltsin] It is absolutely necessary to provide information.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, you have said that the president is responsble for everything, but there is one sphere where one can say that the president's responsibility is naturally limited. That is the harvest. What are the prospects for our harvest this year? Will nature help the reform, so to speak?

[Yeltsin] In the first place we have lived for half a year, despite those prophets who said that there would be famine and a total collapse of agriculture, within the market structure. No, that has not happened. Yes, people are finding life hard, but there is no famine. There have been virtually no disruptions in the bread supply. If there have been lines in places they were localized. We have a constant 20-day reserve of flour and food grain. We are nevertheless approaching the new harvest without problems. We are now also helping agriculture a lot; serious reform has been prepared, adopted, and examined by the government, and Rutskoy is heading this work at my instruction. Together with the government, of course, and the Supreme Soviet—since there are a number of legislative acts that need to be adopted. We are doubling compensation for losses on stockbreeding products so as to somehow provide a stimulus. First we allocated 80 billion rubles to support the countryside, and now more is being examined, almost as much, moreover for all rural producers—soviet farms, collective farms, private farmers, cooperatives, the processing industry, and so on. At the moment we are examining the $1 billion, which will be allocated first. We are looking at how to use it constructively, so as not to simply distribute it to everyone in equal measure, but to have programs which would really give results. On the whole the major part of the money will go on agriculture. This is also very important now, and the villages must be supported. The government has already made the biggest ever decision—allocating 200,000 vehicles, equipment, spare parts, fuel, and so on and so forth. What prospects are there for the harvest, forecasts? Well, forecasts always were a bit difficult. The Americans usually gave us a forecast for our harvest. They still do. They always had the most accurate forecast. They took photographs from space and made the determination according to density. Ours were always more optimistic. They said: No, there will be, say, 180 million tonnes for the country. Ours said: No, there will certainly be 210. Now unfortunately there is no euphoria about the harvest in terms of quantity. Maybe a little worse than we expected.

We expect an average harvest.

[Sabov] Despite the drought?

[Yeltsin] True, some places are unfortunately affected by drought, but on the whole the harvest will be up on last year's.

[Dolgov] If only we could store it properly, Boris Nikolayevich.

[Yeltsin] Right. That is the next step. How to bring in the harvest and how to store it. This has always been important. Take potatoes for example, you know the figures, 25-30 percent of the crop is lost. We are now giving huge incentives to urban residents. We are not just recruiting them but offering payment. We are also paying soldiers so that they join in, students as well, and so forth, so that they help bring in the harvest. I can give a figure for grain—96-98 million tonnes. We can meet later and check up on that.

[Dolgov] Agreed, to see whose forecast is more accurate, yours or the Americans.

[Latsis] In addition to everything else that has happened during the month, there are also many important events regarding the CIS. Many people think that a certain change of direction has taken place. It used to be said that the CIS was simply a kind of divorce. The Union is finished, we are going our separate ways. Now there is an understanding—this change of direction has been noticed; we now realize that this Commonwealth is in everyone's interests. Some organizational structures are being created. How do you appraise what has happened in this respect—from Dagomys to the Moscow summits?

[Yeltsin] I agree with your assessment. The Tashkent summit really was....[pauses] The Dagomys summit one was unique—it was not the Council of Heads of State—and then there was the Moscow summit on 6 July, and a change did take place; even in the atmosphere during decisionmaking. There were such lively debates, disagreement from this or that side, and so forth. Although at the last summit there was no disagreement at all. Fifteen items on the agenda were adopted. Documents were signed. This testifies to better preparation, but also to a certain extent to a change of direction by the heads of state in their policies, first and foremost, I think, in their attitude to Russia.

[Latsis] Realizing their strategic interests?

[Yeltsin] Yes. You know, at first they thought they could get by without us in everything, that they could orient themselves toward the West, and so on. But let us be frank—take the Baltic republics, which are small in size and population. They are experiencing great difficulties now that there has been something of a break with Russia. This applies all the more to republics like Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Byelarus, and Central Asia. The break in these links is going to be disastrously painful. Many simply will not be able to endure the break.

But now this change has occurred and there is an understanding that Russia, for one thing, is not pursuing an imperial policy. It does not want to dictate. It wants to cooperate, trade, and pursue a political dialogue on equal terms with everyone, without pressure, and punctiliously. The Council of Heads of State meets in Moscow. Some people say that the president of Russia should chair it. No, I insisted. President Akayev of Kyrgyzstan chaired. In this I want to stress once again that on no account is Russia striving to trample on anyone, to put it crudely. Perhaps these are just the first signs, but they seem to me to be very important. They have also emerged in the sense of a recognition that some coordinating institutions need to be created. Some people were totally opposed to this at first. They flatly said no. Now they are saying that yes, a coordinating committee needs to be set up.

Sound understanding has emerged on nuclear weapons. Various people thought that it was better to be a nuclear power, a nuclear country—Ukraine and others. But then they realized that no, it would not bring them any dividends. On the contrary, the whole of the West would be pursuing a very hard line on this to stop them from being a nuclear power, and to get them to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, something we agreed on at the latest meeting of the Council of Heads of State in Moscow.

One must also bear in mind that an alliance that seemed to be emerging between the Central Asian republics and Islam in the East—at the cost of a break with Russia—both sides have now come to the conclusion that it would be a strategic mistake. We ourselves did not exert influence here. They—in particular, Iran, Turkey, and our Central Asian states—realized for themselves that the answer was no. One has to bear in mind that Russia is a mighty power.

[Latsis] That is, it is not a question of our being against ties with Turkey and Iran.

[Yeltsin] No, no, no.

[Latsis] But this is simply the objective interests of them and us and of the Asian countries...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Of course.

[Latsis] ...and their partners.

[Yeltsin] Of course.

[Latsis] Is it no accident that they are striving so hard to conclude bilateral treaties with Russia?

[Yeltsin] Yes; when we met—Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Niyazov and Nabiyev—to sign the treaties as soon as possible, we still did not sign them. The treaties are ready. It is now simply a question of coming to an agreement. To determine the time and to sign the treaties—we are ready for a full-scale treaty with them.

[Latsis] So, the issue is not that we are against ties with Iran or Turkey?

[Yeltsin] No, no, no, no.

[Latsis] It is simply their objective interests, ours, and the Asian countries'.

[Yeltsin] You know, it seems to me that there is another side to this. This is that, unfortunately, all this time the former Union maintained ties with Iran in confrontation. Well, this was basically ideology, but it caused great damage to our development, including economic concerns. And we now want to establish closer ties with Iran, Turkey, and China, not to mention the countries of Japan, India, Korea, and so on. When they talk about a pro-Western policy, maybe on the surface it does appear that we established such relations and made official visits in this direction. But we did have to start reaching agreement on a basic question. That is, an unprecedented reduction of nuclear potential, strategic nuclear weapons. So, with whom were we to reach agreement on this? With the United States, of course. Therefore, it is not altogether objective to describe our policy as pro-Western because of this. Although, of course, it turned out subsequently that we established relations there to begin with, and now we will move in the East.

[Latsis] So we need this, not they.

[Yeltsin] Of course.

[Latsis] Or rather, we need this no less than they.

[Yeltsin] No less than they. Quite right.

[Latsis] Does it not seem to you that our Russian structures should perhaps be faster, nonetheless, in appreciating the real importance of the Central Asian republics themselves? I have spoken to people from Ivanovo. They say, well, we are looking askance at Uzbekistan, but our factories are coming to a standstill. There is no cotton. It is necessary to talk with Uzbekistan as a sovereign country with its own interests.

[Yeltsin] Yes, I fully agree. I really would say that their orientation was perhaps, initially, detrimental in the economic sphere. For example, we require 800,000 tonnes of cotton from Uzbekistan—we receive just over one half of that. But now we have concluded a treaty, and Uzbekistan will honor its commitments. Especially since we firmly declare that our orientation is such that relations are on an equal footing. There is respect, no matter how small or large the republic or state was. We build our relations on an equal footing. We show respect for their position and their policy.

[Dolgov] Boris Nikolayevich, at the very beginning of your career, what model of authority did you use at that time, and what relation did you see between authority and the individual? Are you thinking or planning to change this model in any way by changing the relationship between authority and the individual, which is very important in our society?

[Yeltsin] Yes, of course. In the first place, the very transition to a democratic rule of law state changes relations between the state and the individual. For 74 years, the individual existed for the state.

[Dolgov] Of course.

[Yeltsin] That was the principle. The state always said: Render everything to the state. Now the opposite is the case. The state and all the institutions of state authority exist for the individual. True, this is not yet working to its full capability. As you have said, we are still a young democracy, and everywhere—here and elsewhere—we are at the stage of early democracy. Many cadres have come from those authorities. This is only natural, since then there was also a certain selection of people and a certain system, and you cannot say that these people were not intelligent. There were many intelligent people, and they have remained. But of course, this high-handedness, and this word which was, if you recall, used often—communist arrogance—unfortunately still remain.

[Dolgov] Should we call it democratic arrogance now, Boris Nikolayevich?

[Yeltsin] Yes, we can now refer to it in that way. It is not possible to overcome this simply by means of decrees. We need to completely reeducate, or rather educate a new generation of people, and only this will bring totally normal relations between the individual and the authorities, the state, or any level of authority like an enterprise or a section in an enterprise, a rayon, or a town, and so on. We must not lose heart. In selecting personnel—heads of administrations, for instance, when it comes to the executive—I thought then and still think that we have been able to stand firm during this time because this vertical line existed and continues to exist. True, you might say that one, two, three, or five people have been failures...

[Dolgov, interrupting] That is bound to happen.

[Yeltsin, continuing] ...but not thousands. So the fact that the institution of head of administration exists, from top to bottom, in krays and oblasts, appointed by the president and themselves appointing others has, I think, determined our stability during this period. Albeit a fragile stability.

[Dolgov] Are you happy with the level of effectiveness of this apparat's work?

[Yeltsin] I am not happy with all of them, of course, but with the system? Yes, I think so. We will move on later to elections, but during this transitional period it has been necessary to appoint them by decree and strengthen their executive authority because at times like this the foundations of power can crumble. Many consider that democracy is a structure without power. But that is not so, as we saw. I was at the news conference with Kohl in Munich. There were a lot of people there, about 800 probably.

[Sabov] More than that, around 1,000.

[Yeltsin] Is that right? It was certainly packed out. There were a few people with placards, and slogans about internal matters that had nothing to do with me, purely internal issues. They were quickly hustled away.

[Dolgov] And that is democracy.

[Yeltsin] You see, do not obstruct. Work is going on, a news conference is being held, and somebody decides to disrupt it. So authority is exercised and order is imposed. That is all. The news conference proceeded as normal.

[Sabov] Boris Nikolayevich, continuing the theme of authority and the citizen that my colleagues raised. You recently spoke about Russia's need for strong borders. What is currently being done and which was debated at the Moscow summit—meaning a visa-free zone for citizens of all the CIS countries—is apparently one of the decisive conditions for democracy to be established, not only within just our country, but within the entire former Soviet Union, and for it to begin serving the citizen. This, I think, is extremely important. In this connection I would like to put this question to you: This month really has been packed with events, and I think that most relief and pleasure came from the outcome of your summit with President Kravchuk in Dagomys. Strangely enough, this might have been the most important event predetermining the fate of the CIS. So I decided to remind myself of one statement that you made in your book "Against the Grain"....

[Yeltsin, interrupting] I thought everyone had forgotten about that.

[Sabov] Ah, but I have re-read it especially.

[Kostikov] It was a good idea to invite you here.

[Sabov] You have dared make this admission, I quote: Sometimes I think, when watching my opponents making one mistake after another as they rush against me: What would I do if I were to head the fight against the candidate for people's deputy Yeltsin. Now I would ask you, maybe now after the Dagomys meeting, would you not agree to supplement your confession on the given Russian-Ukrainian theme? Being in Kravchuk's place, would you not find a single reason to crush Russia's complaints?

[Yeltsin] The question, of course, is not an easy one. First of all, in his place I would act as he acted when he first showed the initiative and phoned me and proposed a meeting with two delegations to discuss all the acute issues which exist between the Ukraine and Russia.

[Sabov] So he preempted you?

[Yeltsin] Yes. I do not want to claim, before all the TV viewers and myself, that this was at my initiative. No, he phoned. He was the first. However for the date, I phoned him, because it didn't work out—Khasbulatov was out of town, Plyushch was out of town in Brazil—I phoned him and we agreed on the date and the place, Dagomys. In his place I would have acted in the same way, maybe a little earlier. But that is another issue, the political situation in the Ukraine itself had an influence. But nevertheless what took place, and what we agreed on, is of tremendous importance for our peoples, for our relations, that everyone understood that Russia and the Ukraine will not fight. That is the first thing. As regards complaints. Well, of course when there is a statement as regards a reexamination of borders, and so on, Ukraine can make complaints. When there are certain, say, leaders who go to the western, to the eastern part of Ukraine where the Russian population lives and hold various conversations with them, then Ukraine can also make complaints. But maybe since the very beginning when the states of the Soviet Union broke up, there was also some kind of inertia in the former Union policies toward the republics. It is also possible for Ukraine to make complaints to Russia here. But gradually, nonetheless, we began to understand that we cannot simply split up and live without each other.

[Sabov] Excuse me, when Russia and Ukraine were reunited in 1654 the following year Czar Aleksey Mikhaylovich had to issue a decree on the army to prohibit Russian soldiers from referring to Ukrainians by a word derived from the topknots which they wore. The term gained everyday currency, and decrees were needed even then.

[Yeltsin] I frequently go on army visits these days; I go to various units when I am on my trips around Russia. I go almost every month to oblasts and krays to check on the reform, meet people and get an idea of their mood. I visit ships, border troops, and ground units. You see representatives of all nationalities there. And they don't have these problems. In the Army there is no such division in Russia: between Ukrainians or Kazakhs.

[Sabov] Yes, it has always been an internationalist army.

[Yeltsin] Yes, this is done quite well in the Army. I've found the reverse to be the case. When I saw that someone may be of non-Russian ethnic origin, I would go up, and the guys said there was no particular negative attitude to them in the Army. I think that there is no point in artificially listing and recalling agonizingly what complaints Ukraine might have against Russia. Similarly, it is not worth talking about the second point either.

[Sabov] I also put this down to early democracy, the early stage of the existence of the CIS, which has also been feeling its way in working out its relations and some sort of mechanism. Evidently, it should have matured. But it seems to me that the chief thing at Dagomys was that it sets the tone for the CIS as a visa-free area, if it does get established. The thing is that the experience of dual citizenship which you have also talked about is useful, but it is evidently less effective than a visa-free area.

[Yeltsin] You know, I received so many letters beforehand and people simply came from there—representatives of Ukraine, citizens of Ukraine, mostly Russians from the Donbass. Miners came, and managers: Whatever you do, don't bring in a state border. We were, in fact, thinking that if there is going to be a national currency, we cannot manage without real customs and a real state border. All the same, after long deliberations afterwards, and at Dagomys during the talks, we came to the conclusion that we must develop our relations in such a way that we don't need a true state border but that we do indeed end up with visa-free entry.

We have just reached an agreement with Finland, for example, for businessmen whose firms have had relations with us for many years. Each time, every few months, they have to waste time applying for a visa. Let us give them a long-term visa valid for five years and let them get on with their work.

Or take the relatives of those Finns who died on our territory, in Karelia. They need to visit these places, the burial sites. We have signed a special agreement with Finland on respecting and maintaining these burial sites, cemeteries, and so on. This is on a reciprocal basis, because some of our men died on Finnish territory and there are Finns who died on our territory. We also agreed that there should be a very simple procedure for visiting these places, for applying for visas, a very simple one, valid for several years. The name is known, that is enough, hand in an application and it can go ahead.

[Kostikov] Boris Nikolayevich, the time of our Presidential Hour, which has already become a tradition, is coming to an end. Summing up the results of the past month and seeing people off on vacation, can we say that when they return—can you say to them that when they return we will have the hope that life will go on, that they can take their vacation in peace, that they can go fishing in peace and look to the autumn with hope?

[Yeltsin] I cannot.

[Kostikov] Do you, too, intend to go on vacation?

[Yeltsin] I have not decided yet. I think that I need to be on the spot, particularly during the days of last year's August putsch. Not to celebrate the anniversary but simply for, so to speak, they were interesting days. I need to be here.

With regard to what I wish people. Can I say that they will come home from their holidays and there will already be a paradise here? I cannot say that they will come home in a month's time and things will be considerably better. With regard to peace, that there will be no putsch—I can say that. They can vacation in peace. This will not happen. That is, there will be no putsch, there will be no military actions, there will be no major interethnic conflicts which Russia, thank God, has avoided all this time.

But as I have said and as I can say today, it is too soon to expect life to improve this year. This year, the most difficult of all for people, and first and foremost for those who are badly off, and perhaps primarily for the old, for children and pensioners, for those working in the budget sphere, in science, education, culture and in the health service—it will be especially difficult for these people.

Nevertheless, the last three months have produced some very interesting results. I said once, last month, that I was waiting anxiously for June. What would the correlation be between the price index and the increase in wages? You will recall that a positive correlation began to emerge in April. In April wages went up by 35 percent and the price index by 30 percent. That was the first such positive balance. All three months [prior to April] there had been a sharply negative correlation, and overall wages rose significantly less, or rather more slowly than prices. In May the corresponding figures stood at 21 percent and 14 percent.

[Dolgov] A gap of 7 percent already.

[Yeltsin] In June the figures were 19 percent and about 11 percent, that is to say, this positive correlation is continuing and this, of course is good, as the gap today is one and a half times instead of being almost two times. But that is overall. Of course, things are worse in the budget-financed system, and we must adopt additional measures by the end of July or else perhaps at the beginning of August with regard to increasing the wages in the budget-financed sphere.

Of course, things vary from one enterprise to another. There are wages of 15,000, 5,000, 3,000 or 2,000 rubles [R], and there are of course wages of R1,000, unfortunately. To live on R1,000 today...

[Dolgov, interrupting] It is difficult, of course, but we will try.

[Sabov] But without freezing prices...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Many are urging. Incidentally, the IMF urged us to freeze wages. Apparently, this would reinforce the budget.

[Sabov] But not prices?

[Yeltsin] No, only wages, but prices should be left.

[Dolgov] Boris Nikolayevich, I hope that in a month's time, at a meeting like this, you will tell us the result, and we will hear the index for July. Our time really has come to an end. Thank you very much for the conversation, and all the best for next month. See you at our next meeting.

[Yeltsin] Thank you.

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[Interview with Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin by Russian Television political observer Georgiy Dolgov; IZVESTIYA observer Otto Latsis; and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Aleksandr Sabov in Moscow on 14 July; introduced by Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov: "Boris Yeltsin: I am Not Promising Paradise in a Month's Time. But Peace Is Firm on Russian Soil"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with journalists on 14 July. Taking part in the meeting were: Georgiy Dolgov, political observer for Russian Television; Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary; Otto Latsis, IZVESTIYA political observer; and Aleksandr Sabov, observer on LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. We publish an account of the conversation.

[Dolgov] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, the month that has passed since your last meeting with journalists has been an eventful one. It has encompassed Dagomys, the U.S. trip, Helsinki, and Munich. Which events do you consider the most important?

[Yeltsin] I would highlight first one that you did not mention. I mean the examination and ratification of the program for deepening the reform. This was probably the first document to both analyze six months of reform and define phases for its implementation, not simply for the second half of 1992 but for 1993 and 1994 as well. If in fact it does progress in that way—and we believe in that—then it will have become an irreversible process.

As for other events, it is hard to say which was more important: Munich or Helsinki. In Helsinki, I suppose we succeeded for the first time in finding ways to implement the things we had devised—and that is recorded in document form. Munich was perhaps more local in significance, but for Russia the birth of the "Seven Plus One" formula is very important.

[Latsis] It is likely to be important for "the Seven" too that they are close to becoming "the Eight."

[Yeltsin] Yes, all that was acknowledged following the very diverse discussions that we had—we discussed at least twenty different questions relating to Russia and the "Seven" countries because, as you know, there is something of a recession over there too right now. They are very concerned about the way the reforms are going in Russia. If the reforms should collapse—as president I rule that out, but they take account in their forecasts of all possibilities—that will be a great blow to the "Seven," and not just to them but to all of Europe and the entire world. They understand that, but the main point is that it was necessary for Russia to declare itself a great power and that Russia should be treated as a partner throughout the world. My task was to make it clear that I had not gone there to beg from rich uncles. I went there to state that Russia will recover from its difficult position regardless but that, if assistance is given, it will be less painful for people and perhaps also less dangerous. The main point was to switch our relationship to one of partnership. Partnership! Not deterrence, but precisely partnership, which means that effectively we recorded the end of the cold war.

[Sabov] Boris Nikolayevich, what did they think over there of the second stage of our reform?

[Yeltsin] IMF Managing Director Mr. Camdessus had come here even before Munich. After discussions here with me, Gaydar, and other people he had decided the question even before the Munich meeting and had opened the door to the IMF. For us that was fundamentally important, as it was for the "Seven." The IMF had been circling us for six months and been quite unable to agree to a program or open up credit lines. Under those conditions Munich might not even have witnessed a meeting that was truly constructive. But the fact that the IMF has recognized the program and that accordingly the "Seven" have recognized it does mean a very great deal. Especially recognition of the fact that we cannot let go of fuel prices right now.

[Latsis] Clearly this also constitutes an answer to the complaints that we are getting nothing but more conditions, that we are being brought to our knees. In actual fact we are saying: These terms do not suit us—and we are being listened to.

[Yeltsin] In the beginning the IMF wanted to apply its standard, classic scheme to us. But Russia is unique, and the reforms are unique. For 74 years the people of Russia did not know what private property meant, what enterprise in the real sense was, or what constituted a market economy. Gradually, now, people are starting to enter into the market system, but it is not easy. I warned them to remember that only a few months ago I was not conscious of a limit beyond which people's confidence in the reforms and in the president might end. Now it is visible. If we make abrupt moves now that worsen the people's current situation, they may not stand for it. That will mean the end of the reforms, and everyone will suffer.

[Latsis] While preparing for this meeting, my colleagues and I discussed various questions of domestic policy. But an event occurred literally yesterday, and has forced us to bring the following question to the forefront. The Supreme Soviet Presidium decided on 15 July to submit to parliament a draft resolution which, in our opinion, simply reinstates the totalitarian system of dominating the mass media—television, radio, and newspapers. As regards my newspaper—whose collective is at a meeting right now to discuss these decisions—it is proposed to destroy it in its present form.

[Yeltsin] I think that the Supreme Soviet will not actually resort to such extreme measures. It is possible and necessary to complain about the mass media. At the same time, however, it is possible to complain about anyone, starting with the president, the Supreme Soviet, the government, and other organs of power. A process of democratization is under way, a process very unusual for Russia, and it would be naive to imagine that the mass media would be immune to it. My attitude toward this is... not one of complacency—I am also very perturbed by this—but, as you may recall, back at the time when I met the chief editors, I expressed the president's line of support for the mass media. Despite isolated insults and small details—the president also gets insulted—one cannot approach the matter as if the mass media are altogether unsuitable today. This would mean that it is altogether necessary to introduce dictatorship and the former system for mass media—back to coordination, back to the daily "show us your proofs," show us what will be shown on television next day—all this is part of the old system which, thank God, we have abandoned.

The leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the leadership of the government are meeting with the president today. We will endeavor to examine a broad range of questions.

We think that with the aid of this format we will be able to settle many questions even before the stage of their submission to the Supreme Soviet or the government. If this format works—and I very much hope it will—we will make the meetings regular, say one or twice a month. And I think that the question of the mass media will be the subject of our joint scrutiny today.

[Sabov] There is a concept known as early democracy. It is characterized by chaos and conflict. Do you think, Boris Nikolayevich, that your presidency will last long enough to get through this period?

[Yeltsin] I do not intend to quit until we have gotten through this early period that establishes democracy. It seems to me that we will succeed in getting through this period of early democracy, which is always very painful, by 1996. Any country that has been through this has suffered, and for several years, moreover. The main thing is the beginning of some kind of improvement in people's lives. All the other things people talk about—all these implacable camps around the president—are in practice not so serious that the problem cannot be resolved. We recently met in the Security Council, looked each other in the face, and said: Does anyone have any questions for anyone? And a frank discussion took place. Everything was clear: Rutskoy's position, Burbulis' position Filatov's position, Gaydar's position. They differ in some respects, of course, but they are pursuing and will continue to pursue the main thing—a policy of reforms; of this I am convinced.

[Dolgov] Boris Nikolayevich, in our minds power has always been personified. Tell me, are you prepared to assume the responsibility for everything that is done in Russia—from central structures to village soviets—even if these authorities' decisions contradict your policy to some extent?

[Yeltsin] The president is responsible for everything. And I will not shirk this level of responsibility. The president must protect every citizen against being deprived of rights. Yes, there is resistance at local level. Yes, there is lack of coordination between, say, the actions of soviets and administrations. Time is wasted on showdowns and even struggles. The population gets involved and damage is caused. The time has come for everybody to abandon this and start working—that is the question. You recall that there were elections in 1989 and a number of soviets were simply blockaded by certain groups of people—you know what groups. I believe that the work currently being done by the Constitutional Court will be of very great significance in this respect.

[Dolgov] Do you think that...—no, not the decisions; I don't want to anticipate the Constitutional Court's decisions—but the deliberations currently taking place will disarm the remnants of the party nomenklatura at the local level, at least in the eyes of voters and the population?

[Yeltsin] This is what I had in mind. I too would not like to say anything here about what decision the court will make, since any pressure from any quarter is inadmissible—but the court's work will influence events to a large extent.

[Sabov] Nevertheless this has not been the big event which the initiators of the hearings had hoped for; it has not caused people great excitement.

[Yeltsin] Maybe that's so. You will recall that the decrees on the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party signed after the putsch specified very precisely that rank and file Communists do not bear the responsibility and that any persecution of a person merely for being or having been a Communist is categorically prohibited. Categorically! That is an important point; and maybe for the first time in 70 years no steps toward retribution have been taken in response to the negative things the CPSU did to the Union and to Russia. Russia restrained itself. Difficult though restraint was, and there was indeed a temptation—many people said: Let's bury them. But, you know, by burying 15 or 20 million people plus their suffering families we would have blown the whole of society apart. And another point—can we advance toward democracy and at the same time wish to heap the blame on every Communist? But the majority worked honestly and are not to blame for the fact that crimes were committed against the peoples and against the world community.

Yes, too many documents which we have simply not yet had time to pass, but gradually will pass, to the mass media reveal awful things for our people and for an understanding of the role played by central party organs. Many leaders with whom I met in Washington, Ottawa, Munich, and Helsinki said: Let us set up joint commissions to study the archives. I said: Let's do that. But let's study, for example, everything relating to Finland, let's declassify the documents associated with central CPSU organs' activity vis-a-vis other states.

[Latsis] Declassification is being discussed in court. A number of representatives say this could harm state interests. But the overwhelming majority of these documents are not state documents whose disclosure would harm the Russian state—documents of that kind must of course remain secret—99 percent of them were secrets from the Soviet people.

[Yeltsin] I absolutely agree. I have managed to study many documents. They contain neither technological secrets nor any secrets of intelligence service offices. There are documents which would rock society, and we are even backpedalling slightly at present because a lot has been heaped upon society; it is carrying a heavy burden. Therefore we will delay a little, but we will of course publish.

[Kostikov] Politics in Russia has very often depended on whether the harvest is good or not. What are this year's harvest prospects?

[Yeltsin] We have survived for six months despite the prophets who said that there would be famine and a total collapse of agricultural production within market structures. Yes, things are difficult, but there is no famine, there are no disruptions in bread supplies—apart for some at local level perhaps. We constantly maintain a 20-day reserve of flour and food grain. We are seriously helping agriculture. Serious reform has been planned—it is headed by Rutskoy on my instructions. We are providing compensation for stockbreeding output costs so as to stimulate its production. Initially we allocated 80 billion rubles to support the countryside, now we are looking at almost the same amount again. This is for all rural producers, it applies to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, cooperatives, and the processing industry. We are looking at ways to specifically channel the $1 billion which was first allocated by the IMF—not to squander it by trying to please everyone but to channel the money into programs which would actually yield results. We are allocating more motor vehicles than ever before—we have allocated 200,000—as well as equipment, materials, fuel, and so on.

There is no euphoria about the harvest at present. Unfortunately, things will be somewhat worse than we expected—we expected an average harvest. On the whole, however, the harvest will be better than last year's. The next question is how to bring it in and store it safely. Now we are providing great monetary incentives to recruit urban citizens, military personnel, students, and school pupils for the harvest. Let me give you the expected figure for the grain harvest: 96-98 million tonnes.

[Latsis] This month also saw important events in the CIS. Actually, many people think that a turnabout was achieved. It was said that the CIS is simply a form of divorce, an end to the Union. Now people are beginning to realize that everyone has an interest in this commonwealth. How do you appraise what has happened?

[Yeltsin] Perhaps a turnabout really did occur between the Tashkent meeting and the 6 July Moscow meeting. Even in the actual atmosphere during decisionmaking: The last meeting did not produce any of the sharp debates and disagreements. Fifteen agenda items were examined, documents were signed—this is proof of better preparatory work but also of a turnabout among the heads of state, primarily in their policy toward Russia. Initially some of them thought that they could manage without us completely, by orienting themselves toward the West. But they came up against difficulties. The disruption of ties is proving disastrously painful. They also realize that Russia has no desire to pursue an imperial policy, that it wants to cooperate and trade with everyone on an equal basis, to pursue a political dialogue without pressure. There are signs of realization that some coordinating institutions are necessary. Sound understanding has emerged on nuclear weapons. The rumored incipient turnabout by Central Asian republics toward cooperation with their Asian neighbors to the detriment of cooperation with Russia has also resulted in the realization that this would be a strategic mistake. We ourselves did not exert any influence here—Iran and Turkey did.

[Latsis] In other words, the point at issue here is not that we are against ties with, say, Iran or Turkey. The point at issue concerns the objective interests of Central Asian states, of Russia, and of the CIS' Asian neighbors.

[Yeltsin] There is also another side. Unfortunately, all this time the former Union maintained, let us say, ties with Iran in opposition with the West. This caused great damage, including damage to economic relations. Now we want to establish closer ties with China, Turkey, and Iran, not to mention Japan, India, and Korea. Maybe on the surface our policy appears exclusively pro-Western—indeed, we established new relations in this direction, but we did have to start reaching agreement on basic questions: on the unprecedented reduction of nuclear potential. With whom were we to reach agreement on this? With the United States, of course. Therefore, it is not altogether objective to describe our policy as pro-Western just because of this. This is how it happened: We established relations there to begin with, now we will move consistently eastward.

[Latsis] Does it seem to you that our Russian structures must also be faster in appreciating the real importance of the Central Asian republics themselves? I have spoken to people from Ivanovo: Factories are coming to a standstill, there is no cotton. We must recognize Uzbekistan as a sovereign country with its own interests.

[Yeltsin] I fully agree. It may indeed be true that their orientation in that direction was initially detrimental to us economically. For example, we need 800,000 tonnes of cotton from Uzbekistan—we receive just over one-half of that. But now we have concluded a treaty and Uzbekistan will honor its commitments. Especially since we firmly declare: Relations on an equal basis.

[Dolgov] Boris Nikolayevich, when it is a question of the interaction between, say, government structures and parliamentary and presidential structures, here everything is more or less successful. Here in Russia there have always been more complex relations between the individual and the authorities at the bottom, where he comes into contact with the authorities. The authorities always took the view that the individual is the supplicant, and his destiny is in their hands. Unfortunately, at grass-roots level this situation has not changed much today. In a number of places the authorities are still arrogant, self-interested, and mendacious. What do you think about this?

[Yeltsin] For many years in our country the individual existed for the benefit of the state. Now our principle is this: All the institutions of power exist for the benefit of the individual. True, this is not yet a total success. After all, we have inherited many cadres from the old authorities. And this is only natural, since in those days there was also a certain system of selection, and you cannot say that people were not intelligent. There were many intelligent people, and they stayed on. But of course, high-handedness and communist arrogance are not things you can overcome simply by decree. Raising a whole new generation of people will maybe lead to a normal relationship between the individual and the authorities. But we must not lose heart. In selecting cadres, for instance, heads of administration—I thought then and I think now that we have been able to stand firm over this period because this vertical line existed and continues to exist. True, you could say that one of those people has been a failure, or two people, or five, but not a thousand people. The fact that there is such a thing as the institution of heads of administration, from top to bottom, has, it seems to me, determined our stability, albeit a fragile stability.

[Dolgov] Are you satisfied with their work?

[Yeltsin] Not all of them, of course. But as a system—yes, I think so. Later we will go over to the elected principle, but for this transitional period it was necessary to appoint them by decree and strengthen the executive power, because at times like this the foundations of power can crumble. Many people think that democracy is a structure without any kind of power. That cannot be so. For instance, I was at a press conference in Munich. There were a great many people there. And a few individuals with placards. They promptly took them by the arm and led them away.

[Dolgov] And that's democracy?

[Yeltsin] It is not a bar to democracy. People understand: Work is in progress, a press conference is in progress, you decide to wreck it—so authority is exercised and order imposed.

[Sabov] Although this month has been really packed with events, it seems to me that the greatest sense of relief greeted the results of your meeting with President Kravchuk in Dagomys. If you were in Kravchuk's place, would you have found no cause for complaint against Russia?

[Yeltsin] A difficult question. First—in his place, I would have acted as he acted, and taken the initiative. He called me and proposed that we meet as two delegations and discuss all the urgent questions that exist between Ukraine and Russia.

[Sabov] He preempted you?

[Yeltsin] Yes. I don't want to claim that initiative for myself. In his place, I would have done the same, but maybe a bit earlier. What happened is of the utmost importance for our relations, for our peoples. Everyone realizes that Russia and Ukraine are not going to go to war. Complaints? Well, of course, when there are statements about revising borders and so forth, Ukraine can complain. When certain leaders travel to the eastern part of Ukraine, where the Russian [rossiyskoye] population lives, and conduct various discussions with them—here too it is possible to complain. Maybe also from the outset, when the states of the former Union went their separate ways, the Union's former attitudes toward the republics persisted to some extent, through inertia. And again, complaints are possible on the part of Ukraine. But we gradually began to realize that we cannot simply go our separate ways and live without each other.

[Sabov] It seems to me that Dagomys sets the tone for the CIS as a visa-free area.

[Yeltsin] You know, I received so many letters before I went there, mostly from Russian [russkikh] citizens of Ukraine: Whatever you do, don't bring in a state border. We were, in fact, thinking that if there is going to be a national currency, we cannot manage without real customs and a real border. All the same, we came to the conclusion—no, on the contrary, we must develop our relations in such a way that we do indeed end up with a visa-free area. Even now, we have reached agreement with Finland on slackening the visa requirements.

[Kostikov] The time allotted for our now traditional "presidential hour" is coming to an end. At the moment many Russians [rossiyane] are about to leave or have already left on vacation. Can you give them a good send-off by telling them that they can rest easy, calmly go fishing, and look forward to the fall with hope?

[Yeltsin] No, I can't. That they'll come home from their vacations and find paradise here—no, I can't say that. That they'll come home in a month's time and things will be significantly better here—I can't say that, either. About peace, that there will be no putsch—I can say that. Let them rest easy—it will not happen. Nor will there be any major interethnic conflicts, which Russia, thank God, has avoided all this time. But as for an improvement in life—I have said before and can say again today—it is too soon to expect it this year. This is a difficult year, the most difficult of all.

Although the last three months have produced some very interesting results. I said once that I was waiting anxiously for June: What would the correlation be between the price index and the increase in wages? A positive correlation began to emerge in April. When wages went up 35 percent and the price index 30 percent. This was the first positive balance. Throughout the three preceding months there had been a sharply negative correlation, and overall, wages rose significantly less than prices. In May and June the preferential rate of increase in wages continued. This is good, of course. Whereas prices used to be twice as high as wages, now they are only one-and-a-half times as high. But that is the overall level. Of course, things are worse in the budget-financed system, and we must adopt a decision by the end of July or else in August on additional measures to increase wages in the budget-financed sphere. Of course, things vary from one enterprise to another. You find wage levels of 15,000, and also of 5,000, 3,000, and 2,000, and unfortunately even 1,000. But to live on 1,000 rubles today.... Incidentally, the IMF urged us to freeze wages—without freezing prices. We refused.

[Sabov] Are you going on vacation yourself?

[Yeltsin] I haven't decided yet. Probably not. I want to be here in August.

'Entourage' Said To Expect Kozyrev Resignation

PM1407103392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Foreign Ministry Does Not Confirm Report on Minister's Resignation"]

[Text] As of midday on Monday, 13 August, the dismissal rumors about Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his first deputy Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev had not been confirmed.

Let us recall that the day before the mass media cited "well informed sources in the Russian leadership" in a report that the latest closed session of the Security Council had expressed a lack of confidence in the two eminent diplomats and advised the president to relieve them of their duties. On Friday IZVESTIYA tried to find some officials in the country's leadership who could confirm or deny this report. But we did not manage to find out much. At the Russian Security Council Secretariat, for example, all they would say was that a closed session had indeed taken place recently and that of course they would not disclose its agenda or the gist of its decisions.

Some Security Council members also declined to comment on the recent session, citing the confidentiality of the questions examined on that day.

Nothing is known at the Russian Foreign Minister's office on Smolensk Square about the possible removal of their boss.

Neither the president's information service nor the Russian Government press service could confirm or deny that A. Kozyrev would resign in the next few days. The only thing that we managed to find out was that some politicians in the president's entourage and in the government, by all accounts, expect A. Kozyrev's resignation very soon. Rumors circulated via the newspapers are just a trial balloon in their struggle against the reformist policy of the country's present leadership.

Foreign Ministry official spokesman S. Yastrzhembskiy did agree to deny among other things the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA report on possible changes in the ministry leadership. In an interview with our correspondent he stated the following:

"The Russian Foreign Ministry was surprised to learn about this report. I can say that it is without any real foundation at all. There is no question of the minister's resignation. Andrey Kozyrev's presence in Helsinki is the best and most convincing evidence of that. And then we have doubts, to put it mildly, about the source of the information used by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA...."

INTERFAX, in turn, cited a source in the Russian parliament in its report that the recent Security Council session had also dismissed F. Shelov-Kovedyayev, who is in charge of relations with CIS countries. "The fact that there has been no official announcement on this," the agency wire goes on, "is linked by some experts to the possibility of F. Shelov-Kovedyayev's appointment to the new post of Minister for Commonwealth Affairs. As parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov stated at a 7 July meeting with Russian envoys to the CIS countries, agreement has been reached with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the establishment of such a post...."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA continues this "sensational" theme: "According to some information, Shelov-Kovedyayev left his post a week ago." The Foreign Ministry, however, merely expressed surprise and noted that the first deputy minister had been on official leave since 6 July and was vacationing with his family. In a telephone conversation with his colleagues, F. Shelov-Kovedyayev had stated that he knew nothing about his resignation or new appointment.

Yeltsin Meets Khasbulatov, Discusses Helsinki

OW1407161392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Speaker of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov held a one-on-one meeting late Tuesday [14 July], speaker of the Ethnic Council Ramazan Abdulatipov told Parliament, not mentioning the nature of the talks.

Informed sources told Interfax that the two discussed Yeltsin's trip to Munich where he attended a meeting of the Group of Seven nations. The two also discussed Yeltsin's visit to Helsinki to attend the CSCE conference.

The talks focused on the concrete application of the results of Yeltsin's visits to accelerate economic reforms underway in Russia. Yeltsin and Khasbulatov also discussed relations between the Parliament and the executive branch.

Yeltsin: 'Resolute' Support for IZVESTIYA

PM1607084192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jul 92 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Boris Yeltsin: Be Guided by the Law on the Press"]

[Text] A meeting of Supreme Soviet and Russian Government leaders was held on 16 July. Russian President B.N. Yeltsin took part in the meeting.

The president briefed the participants on the results of his talks with the G-7 members in Munich and the Russian delegation's involvement in the CSCE conference in Helsinki.

Regarding the internal political situation in the country, the president said that all healthy forces in society needed to consolidate in order to ensure the success of the reforms. "Close and constructive forms of cooperation between the Supreme Soviet and the Russian Government are needed. We need to seek out and rapidly enforce effective mechanisms for coordination between these two levers of power. Any attempts by one of these sides to present itself as the only qualified spokesman of the peoples' will and guarantor of democracy will only lead to increased tension in society," B.N. Yeltsin said.

A considerable amount of time during the meeting was devoted to the situation regarding the mass media which has come about as a result of the wave of attacks on newspapers known for their democratic principles. The Russian president expressed his concern at this attempt to bring the press under the control of any one institution of power. In particular, B.N. Yeltsin expressed his unequivocal and resolute support for the IZVESTIYA collective. "Attempts to rein in the press could return us to the sad era of secrecy and damage our young democracy," B.N. Yeltsin said. "The press is staking out its own difficult and contradictory path toward political culture, it is making mistakes, it frequently goes wrong as a result of ill-considered judgments, and at times it comes to grief through being badly informed. But all these 'disorders' are curable given time, a political culture, and an increase in professionalism. We have a good Law on the Press supported by all of society, and we must cooperate with the press on the basis of the provisions of that law, which is a real achievement of Russian democracy," the president stressed.

Decree Allows for Temporary Unemployment Pay

PM1607085192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jul 92 First Edition p 6

[Decree No. 723 of the Russian Federation President "On Measures Providing Social Support for Citizens Who Have Lost Their Job and Earnings (Income) and Who Have Been Declared Officially Unemployed," under the "Official Section" rubric, signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 2 July 1992]

[Text] With the aim of providing social support for citizens who have lost their job and earnings (income) and who have been declared officially unemployed, until the relevant amendments and additions have been made to the RSFSR Law "On the Employment of the Population in the RSFSR" I resolve:

1. To grant the organs of the state service for the population's employment the right to make payments to citizens who have lost their job and earnings (income), and who have been declared unemployed, for the period of their temporary inability to work, at the unemployment benefit rate prescribed for the given category of citizens, based on the actual number of days of temporary inability to work but for no more than 30 calendar days. Payment for the period of temporary inability to work is to be made from, and within the limits of, the resources of the Russian Federation State Employment Fund.

In the event that the temporary inability to work occurred during the period of one month following the citizens' dismissal from work for a valid reason and continued longer than a calendar month, payment for the period of temporary inability to work is to be made from the resources of the social insurance fund at the former place of work or its successor.

2. Citizens who lost their job and earnings (income) during the 12 months preceding the day they are officially declared unemployed and who receive a Group III labor invalidity pension are to be paid unemployment benefit at the rate of the minimum level of labor payment prescribed by law, from the resources of the Russian Federation State Employment Fund.

3. The organs for the social protection of the population are to make a payment for the period of maternity leave to women who have lost their job and earnings (income) in connection with the liquidation or reorganization of enterprises (institutions, organizations) during the 12 months preceding the day they are officially declared unemployed, at the rate of the minimum level of labor payment prescribed by law, from the resources of the Russian Federation Social Insurance Fund.

4. It is laid down that unemployed citizens with a total length of labor service entitling them to retire on a full old-age pension and who have not had a break in labor activity of more than 12 months during the five years preceding the day they are officially declared unemployed have the right, on the initiative of the state employment service bodies, to apply for early retirement, but no earlier than two years before the age prescribed by law.

Payments of state pensions to the said categories of persons is to be made from the resources of the Russian Federation Pension Fund with a consequent reimbursement of expenditure from the Russian Federation State Employment Fund.

When unemployed citizens reach pension age the payment of state pensions is to be made in the prescribed manner from the resources of the Russian Federation Pension Fund.

5. Within one month the Russian Federation Government is to approve the Directive "On the Procedure and Conditions for Paying Unemployment Benefits."

6. This decree is to be sent to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet in accordance with the resolution of the

Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies of 1 November 1991 "On Providing Legal Backup for Economic Reform."

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 2 July 1992

Moscow Air Defense Chief Interviewed on Tasks

MK1407122592 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 92 p 2

[Interview with Aviation Colonel General A. Kornukov, commander of Moscow Air Defense District, by G. Drugoveyko under the "How Are Things in Air Defense?" rubric; place and date not given: "Eyes and Ears of 'Zone of Continuous Operations'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Much has changed in 1992—almost everything. The changes have not bypassed either Russia's armed forces or (something of particular interest to Muscovites) the capital's air defense system. Therefore we talk with Aviation Colonel General A. Kornukov, commander of Moscow Air Defense District.

[Drugoveyko] Esteemed Anatoliy Mikhaylovich, in a certain sense the Air Defense Forces are forces that do not know peacetime. But, in order to be ready to fulfill the combat tasks entrusted to the troops in your charge, you have to picture a possible attack from the air. So, what is the "working model" of the combat situation which you keep in your head: Who is the likely enemy, and which forces might attack Moscow?

[Kornukov] First of all, I would like to say that hopes of a serene world, never clouded by anything, are still just a beautiful dream. What about the incessant armed conflicts on the territory of the former USSR and in other regions...?

Masses of dangers remain. What is more, the dangers are even multiplying. In a "time of troubles" the distance between "the incredible and the obvious" might instantly be reduced to zero.

[Drugoveyko] Yes... Not without a shudder I recently imagined a "frivolous version": Some fanatic (or zombie-like pilot) seizes an aircraft at an airfield on some sovereign territory, takes off, and, kamikaze-like, directs the aircraft toward a nuclear electric power station... A demoralized missileman could also cause a similar catastrophe.

[Kornukov] You have modeled a combat episode that is very topical for Moscow's Air Defense Forces. For we shield eight (!) nuclear power stations against strikes from the air and from space...

[Drugoveyko] We also must not exclude the possibility that a leader with aggressive aspirations could approach the leadership of some strong foreign state. And what about all kinds of extremist groupings and modern international terrorism?

[Kornukov] By the way, the "cold war" is over, and yet the makeup of the offensive air weapons of distant foreign countries has not changed. The operational-strategic thrust of exercises has essentially remained as before: There is still reliance on massive strikes from space and from the air. There is a strange thing about our "modern epoch": Designers of offensive air weapons and plants producing aerospace systems are, alas, working as in past years.

Who is the likely enemy? You know, the national and political "personification of the enemy" means nothing to the military. "Aggressive U.S. imperialists," "German revanchists," and the "cynical British" come from the realm of political hypocrisy. This is unprofessional. Can I really be interested in who is controlling a target which has invaded airspace for which I am responsible with my life and my honor? "Violator" is an exhaustive description to define my attitude toward a stranger. An uninvited guest (i.e. flying without an application, without warning, without agreement—without permission) means a target against which it is legitimate to use force. Air defense, you understand, is a zone of absolute action. It is a difficult mission, but no other way is possible. One "little" blunder in air defense could mean a "big" tragedy for the nation. It is, of course, a hard trial for an air defense serviceman to destroy and shoot down without the right to hesitate. Other branches of the armed forces can live according to the biblical principle: He who has come with a sword shall die by the sword. Air defense will brandish the sword only because... he has come.

In practice? We rehearse the repulsing of strikes from the northwestern, western, and southwestern directions—with up to 80 percent of the forces available abroad. There are methods to calculate the forces we need. The district shields approximately 600 important installations, including Moscow. And 30 percent of Russia's population.

We measure all this against our combat potential. And we train the troops accordingly. It means endless work for the district's officers and soldiers.

[Drugoveyko] I would like to learn a general description of the air defense system of the Russian capital, within the limits of what is permitted, without your disclosing any military secrets, naturally.

[Kornukov] Moscow's air defense system is geared to repulsing strikes not only by existing offensive air weapons but also by future ones (aerodynamic and aeroballistic, "conventional" strategic and air-launched cruise missiles).

The basic principle is the creation of echeloned and perimeter defense of equal effectiveness. On the distant approaches to the capital targets will be shot down by fighter aircraft pilots and by antiaircraft missile troops of large external air defense units. Closer to Moscow fire will be opened by large direct-cover air defense units. And by automated command and control and antiaircraft missile complexes everywhere. The S-300, for example. These, as you yourself understand, are serious things. Therefore I would very much like not to try out our capital's air defense system under real conditions. This is not Hanoi 1965 or Cairo 1970. It is far more "drastic."

[Drugoveyko] Has your formation managed to make good the "combat losses" occasioned by the disruption of the former unified "all-Union" system of defense against air strikes? Can Muscovites reckon that the air defense of our megalopolis is reliable and impenetrable?

[Kornukov] First of all, the "combat losses" occasioned by the disruption of the unified system of Moscow's defense against air strikes do not frighten me. Of course, we have lost the so-called "forward defense area." This means early detection, warning, and fire effect. To use our terminology, the district has now become a border district. We have even had to overcome the feeling of being deep in the rear. And "buck up" the personnel. Particularly the duty combat crews. The "feeling of tranquillity" soon passed. "Fortunately," the situation which has taken shape on the territory of the former Union has a no less persuasive effect than do the commanding officers.

There are problems... The troops' manning level, deliveries of modern arms, military hardware, and fuel. I hope that the difficulties will diminish with the creation of the Russian Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces and the adoption of legislative acts on defense. But for the time being we are making the maximum use of what we have, what the Russian people have been able to give us.

Muscovites can be calm today. But in the future...? The problems of the availability of personnel, modern fighter- interceptors, and new intelligence facilities are merely being exacerbated as time goes on. There could come a day when it will be... difficult to speak of the reliability and effectiveness of air defense.

[Drugoveyko] What is in servicemen's souls now? What gives them the strength for hard service in peacetime and for combat, if that hour should come?

[Kornukov] Things have always been hard for us, and now in particular. There has been everything since the end of last year: both disarray and confusion. And the desire to leave the army... We have been (and are being) helped by our traditional Russian "superweapon"—patience and fortitude. Both military and civilian Russians have mastered this weapon to perfection.

What gives us the strength...? Faith in our usefulness to Russia. A sense of patriotism, and honor. And habit. I recently went with units to a state range, for field firing. You should have seen everyone, from soldier to colonel, "plowing away!" There is a mundane expression for this: the task was fulfilled.

We have never asked or demanded much for ourselves, but many people have rebuked us. Even now you still hear: "Who needs the Army?" and "Against whom are we to defend ourselves—who needs us, i.e. Russia?" Such questions are not decided by a general vote. Everyone decides for himself. I need Russia. I know that our homeland is dear to millions of Russians, despite the hard times... Never mind, the good times will come for us too.

[Drugoveyko] How do you personally feel? What is service like for you, after all the political and state perturbations, after all sorts of "dividing up" of the armed forces?

[Kornukov] I would be dissembling if I were to say: as usual, well, serenely. Service is not easy. But who has an easy time now? I have served 33 years not beside an expanse of smooth asphalt. There have been ruts and potholes, and there have been painful jolts.

It turns out that I am now getting into an impasse. But my faith in my friends, in my fellow servicemen, and in people in general and my trust in them help me out. I do not complain about my fate, and I cannot imagine a different life or different work. Maybe a different fate will fall to the lot of my son or grandson? But I, like my entire generation... While I am needed, I will serve.

P.S. When finalizing the details for the interview, the commander's aides politely hinted to me that Anatoliy Mikhaylovich is a very busy man and that I should fit my visit into 30-40 minutes. But the commander himself, actually in my presence, warned all the services that they should not put anyone through to him unless there was a special need: "I am working with a correspondent." Nonetheless, the conversation lasted 90 minutes. During that time a "special need" arose more than once. There is nothing surprising in that: Air defense is a zone of continuous operations.

Military Investigators To Move to Tax Division

OW1507190492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1833 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sources in financial circles told Interfax that, in an attempt to accelerate the establishment of tax investigation subdivisions under state tax inspections, Russian President Boris Yeltsin passed a resolution to send thousands of officers from the army, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the Ministry of Security to work in tax investigation bodies in 1992. The officers will have to fight financial misconduct and corruption, but will remain on active duty in the army and in the bodies of internal affairs. It appears that their labor will be paid for by the Russian Federation's State Tax Service by drawing from the staff's size and strength.

Minister Discusses Conditions for Arms Sales

LD1507144292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 13 Jul 92

[Report on interview with Foreign Economic Relations Minister Petr Aven, by correspondent Nikolay Gelitka in Moscow; Aven remarks recorded, in Russian fading into Arabic translation; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] So frequently Russian and foreign newspapers publish material on the Russian arms trade, and these materials present a tableau of many colors, starting by accusing the Russian Government of not supervising arms which it exports, and ending by alleging that nearly half of the Russian tanks, airplanes, and missiles have been sold abroad.

Our parliamentary correspondent Nikolay Gelitka took the opportunity of the presence of Petr Aven, Russian minister of foreign economic relations, last week in the parliamentary discussions over the budget and taxes, and asked him a number of questions on this issue. The following are his answers to these questions.

Petr Aven answered the question: What is the principle which the Russian Government follows when selling arms abroad, by saying:

[Aven] We start from the premise that arms are a commodity which could be sold and bought, and money could be obtained from that. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Our correspondent then asked: To which countries, including the Arab countries, does Russia intend to sell arms?

[Aven] We adhere to, as we shall always adhere to, the principle of not exporting arms to countries where there are, or could be, conflicts. In other words, we adhere to all the requirements of the UN recommendation and embargo lists. We have abandoned the ideological principle for exporting arms, and we can not export them to any interested country, but as I have said, in conformity with the UN recommendations and embargos. Among the Arab countries to which we decline exporting arms for well-known reasons are Iraq and Libya.

As for the rest of the Arab countries, we are prepared to talks about selling our arms to them, but the dialogue should not revolve around selling arms on credit, as we used to do in the past, but for immediate cash in a hard currency, or if it suited us by bartering on an international level, according to a clear schedule for the implementation of the contract's commitments.

[Announcer] In reply to a question about the new markets for selling Russian arms, including Arab markets, the minister said:

[Aven] Concerning the new countries, and the new markets to promote arms sales, there are no big changes, or new discoveries, to the extent that I can say that not so many new clients have appeared, and numerous contracts for billions of rubles have not materialized, as the newspapers sometimes say, but this interest in us is great, and the Arab countries which never bought our arms are also showing interest in that, such as Oman, the UAE, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia.

Democratic Party Chief Travkin Interviewed

MK1407120192 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 28, 8-14 Jul 92 (Signed to Press 7 Jul 92) p 3

[Interview with Nikolay Ilich Travkin, leader of Democratic Party of Russia, by Liliya Lagutina, in Shakhovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, date not given: "Travkin in Shakhovskiy Rayon"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Nikolay Ilich Travkin has a exceptionally sensible view of life. Life with its bums and its people left homeless by fire, people fond of attending rallies, and parliamentary people. Today, and I am convinced of this, COMMON SENSE is becoming the key concept. Because common sense is always involved with concrete matters, the nitty-gritty

Why then, in the past did the well known constuction worker and Hero of Socialist Labor, chairman of the Democrtatic Party of Russia Nikolay Travkin go to Shakhovksiy Rayon to be head of the administration?

[Travkin] What are you talking about?! If I had wanted I could have taken an oblast, or kray, or a cosy office could even have been found for me on Staraya Ploshchad. The grassroots level was important in order to trace the feedback (between the rayon, as the grassroots level, the government, and the parliament) and to clarify where the reforms are being retarded and at what stage.

[Lagutina] And have you clarified this?

[Travkin] In our thoughts Gavriil Popov is all the time roaming around with his theoretical computations: "What is to be done?" and if you total them up you get: "How to control things best..." So, he says, let us create not rayons but prefectures and things will go swimmingly. Did they?! Man as an individual being is being thrown out lock, stock, and barrel. Now I know exactly why the reforms are not going ahead.

They are being hampered not by the notorious nomenklatura barrier, not by the struggle for power, but by the scheme itself which people are trying to impose on us and whose flaws life itself rips away. However, the sins of this scheme are not mortal sins, they can be rectified, and that is what I am trying to do.

[Lagutina] By all accounts, you have become disenchanted?

[Travkin] Those are not the kind of terms I think in, but the feedback to the government has not come about. I travel to Burbulis or Gaydar with suggestions, they listen attentively and agree to everything, but they do not make any adjustments. I honestly went round that whole circle, with the possible exception of not speaking with Yeltsin, but it was all to no effect.

[Lagutina] So why did Burbulis and Gaydar not pay heed to you?

[Travkin] It is because they had already adopted their scheme and ideology and nothing else interests them.

[Lagutina] So what is the government's ideology?

[Travkin] For them, life is broken into three parts. The reforms are one separate part, another separate part is man and his social protection, and the third separate part is production and industrial enterprises. Hence you have a structure as follows: Gaydar runs the reforms, Shokhin looks after social protection, and so forth. As if life can be divided into three parts! And so these parts are coming into conflict with each other.

[Lagutina] Are you proposing something different?

[Travkin] My goal is the same but the ways of achieving this goal do indeed differ somewhat from those of the government. Here, in Shakhovskiy Rayon I have tried to implement these methods. Why did I chose precisely this rayon? Because I was born here and I know it well. [passage omitted]

[Lagutina] It is said that having given the government up as a bad job, you are now trying to establish the same sort of feedback with the Supreme Soviet. And in your opinion is Ruslan Khasbulatov more progressive and more reliable as an ally?

[Travkin] Oh, he is undoubtedly a more commonsense sort of person. But then the Supreme Soviet does not have a prescribed scheme and therefore the actual result is what is important to it. What is the privatization of trade according to Gaydar's logic? The system is sluggish, the state is being roundly plundered, and therefore everything must be done en masse and quickly through auctions and competitive tender. Will some people be displeased? They will. But to hell with that. Let Shokhin get busy with that. All the flaws in the government do not arise from a lack of experience, they are flaws of a moral nature. Objectively, the Supreme Soviet is in a different situation and therefore has an interest in adjusting the government's course.

[Lagutina] And the president?

[Travkin] He has now put forward absolutely bolshevik slogans: faith, hope, patience. Notice he has not made brains, hands, and man's ability to do something the most important point. Have patience and we will get you out of this. Yeltsin is 61 and he was shaped as a leader long ago and has his own style. The marketeer Yeltsin talks in Barnaul about financial stabilization and then joyfully announces that he has brought 500 million rubles [R] along on a plane. He sees salami at R160 and orders the trading organization director to be sacked, and then repeats that we are heading for the market and prices have to be freed. And that goes on all the time. Throw a bone to the left... throw a bone to the right... And what's Yeltsin like in opposition. It's as if they've broken his right hand, so he writes with his left. Has his handwriting changed? Hardly. What about Yeltsin's return to power? They took off the cast and he started writing in the same handwriting. And there's no tragedy about that! It simply cannot be that society has failed to ripen to the stage of innovations and yet the leaders have done so. Nevertheless I still think that it is the figure of Yeltsin that is making it possible to preserve in Russia that fagile equilibrium which still exists.

[Lagutina] And how, in that case, do you assess the appointment of Gaydar as acting head of the cabinet?

[Travkin] As a purely political gesture and not as a shareout of actual power.

[Lagutina] Do you believe that by changing his economic concept, Yeltsin can enter into an alliance with the right, and particularly with the leaders of the "Russian Unity" parliamentary bloc?

He can do anything. And that is the chief misfortune. We now have a president and a government which do not rely on a precisely defined social base. For them this ought to be the embryonic stratum of enterpreneurs. But they have stifled this stratum and it's the same everywhere.

[Lagutina] If it wasn't you who said it, who did say, Nikolay Ilich, that "Russia since time immemorial has been propped up by the peasant and not by the usurer?"

I talk about the fact that in the logic of things it is the entrepreneurial class that must be the social base of this government. But the government has rejected it too. And the main retarding factor lies in the fact that the reforms were propounded contrary to the whole history and whole genetic makeup of Russia. There is no incentive to work, but there are incentives to steal. It is simply unprofitable to work honestly—you bust a gut and just get peanuts.

[Lagutina] Excuse me for asking, but how much do you make?

[Travkin] The mothly salary of a head of administration of a rayon is R2,200. But I also get a salary as a deputy. My wife also works. And I have two sons in the senior classes at school. In short, somehow we have enough to get by on. One also has to take into account that I live nearly all the time now not in Moscow but in Shakhovskiy Rayon with my parents. They are pensioners and they also have to be helped out.

All the same, I remain an optimist. The main thing that I regard personally as my task is to make the government change the ideology of the reforms without changing its [as published—Russ: yeye, grammatically referring to ideology] ultimate goals, but as long as the government and people go on living in two different dimensions nothing will come of it. We have a chance to make our adjustments...

[Lagutina] So what you want to say is that "as long as everything is not lost, nothing is lost?"...

[Travkin] Precisely.

[Lagutina] The general deterioration of the situation in the country has galvanized the activness of the opposition and the theme of fascism has become a gloomy refrain in the commentaries of politologists. You, Nikolay Ilich, know Baburin, Astafyev, and Aksyuchits personally, so how do you view their actions and do you think that they are sincere?

[Travkin] If you're talking about the wish to become political leaders they are certainly sincere there. If you're talking about their zeal for the good of the people there is not even a hint of sincerity here. The Sterligovs and Anpilovs will go on uttering those words that are best received by the rally. But it is not just obscurantists that assemble there but also desperate and unfortunate people. Therefore, I would place a clear dividing line between the people who attend the rallies and the organizers of those actions.

[Lagutina] At one time your party was in a bloc with the Russian Christian Democrats headed by Viktor Aksyuchits. Now you no longer have any points of contact?

[Travkin] None at all. Yes, we were earlier in a bloc with Aksyuchits for, after all, he and Mikhail Astafyev at that time were noted for their well-weighed actions, they were quite different people. But now they are playing their own card and are turning into "popular leaders" [narodnyye vozhdi], speculating on the crisis situation in the country.

[Lagutina] So, the situation really does amount to a crisis... Carried along on that kind of wave, this whole team could quite possibly achieve their aims...

[Travkin] Absolutely. Anyone today could come to power. But would they manage to stay in power? You can't change the situation by yesterday's methods and if they do actually arrive on the scene that would bring everything to its downfall.

[Lagutina] Do you believe that the opposition ought to be ignored or even that force should be used against it?

[Travkin] Of course not. It is necessary to sit down round the negotiating table with them. But it is necessary to enter into talks with official structures and not with representatives of the mob as was the case at Ostankino.

[Lagutiona] Not so long ago, Nikolay Ilich, the "Democratic Russia" movement used the same methods and in a situation, let us put it bluntly, that was not all that much of an emergency. Everything took place under the aegis of "the struggle for the just cause..."

[Travkin] "Democratic Russia was created for the struggle against the communist regime but it "ended its life by committing suicide," because immediately after the putsch "Democratic Russia" should have disbaned itself, having announced that it had fulfilled its tasks. Nobody did this, naturally, and "Democratic Russia" is now looking for enemies everywhere. "Take care, there are enemies lying in wait for us!" I am puzzled by the Russian prosecutor's office, half of which has been seeking out supporters of the State Committee for the State of Emergency for a year now, and the other half has been searching for the CPSU's money. The main thing is that everyone is busy. But there is no one to combat crime.

[Lagutina] But Yeltsin is continuing to rely on "Democratic Russia"...

[Travkin] You have to be blind to do that, that is his big mistake. His closest entourage is helping him to stay in this state of pernicious delusion.

[Lagutina] Do you mean Burbulis?

[Travkin] Burbulis is the most noticeable figure. This is an example of a man who has choked on power. He used to have just one laboratory assistant under him. But now generals crowd his reception room, and academicians wait in line. Russia lies at his feet... Well, can we now organize a universal holiday on 19-20 August and present medals to ourselves in honor of the victory over the putschists? But that is absurd! It is quite clear that the enraged crowd would go and storm Matrosskaya Tishina prison. And we would have to get truncheons to deal with them. And "Democratic Russia" with its political methodology is proposing all this.

[Lagutina] But "Democratic Russia" is also heterogeneous, and a number of prominent leaders of the so-called romantic bent, the adherents of pure liberal ideas—Afanasyev, Batkin, Burtin...—have now left it.

[Travkin] Is this Yuriy Afanasyev to be considered a romantic. Well, not any longer. After all, he knew very well the sociopolitical laws, he knew that you mustn't build either a rule-of-law state, or a civic state without having a multiparty system. However, he made the maximum effort to try to prove to everyone that we do not need a multiparty sistem but need a broad front instead...

[Lagutina] The Movement for Democratic Reforms was also conceived of as a broad front and I recall that you supported it at the time...

[Travkin] We mustn't confuse things here. Afanasyev had quite different calculations. The idea of the Movement for Democratic Reforms was a good one but it was replaced by short-term considerations when Popov, having gone off to Nizhniy Novgorod and having sidelined his comrades in arms, seized everything for his sole use. Gavriil Kharitonovich is a very intelligent man and he worked everything out several moves in advance and most likely in Nizhniy Novgorod he already knew on what date he would resign from the post of mayor. He was preparing a base for his departure.

[Lagutina] Working things out several moves in advance is not the biggest defect. Most likely you too have worked something out by entering into a bloc with Volskiy's "Renewal" Union, Rutskoy's People's Party of Free Russia, thus forming the so-called "Civic Union"...

[Travkin] That is so. In many respects the supporters of Rutskoy and Volskiy are our kindred spirits and, in order to function in a more cohesive manner we have united and announced that we are going into constructive opposition. And I am convinced that this union can now not only wag a finger but also influence in practical terms the decisions of parliament and of the government.

[Lagutina] Are you not bothered by the fact that very many people treat Volskiy with misgiving, reproaching him for adherence to the principles of the nomenklatura?

[Travkin] But all this has been dreamed up by journalists. An "Antimarketeer," a "Nomenklaturist!" Directors of industrial enterprises today are the last to renounce the market! He is a man with tremendous potential... Either let us rank him with the enemy camp, or he's got to be an ally. Yet everyone gains! I am sure that today Volskiy would have performed not worse, but better than Gaydar.

[Lagutina] Well now, what about all these accusations of laundering party money through his setup?

[Travkin] Are you really much interested in this? And do you seriously believe that getting to the truth is a move that is capable of pulling the country through its sickness?

[Lagutina] To be honest, it neither interests me, nor do I believe...

[Travkin] Don't try to be clever now. There was a structure, and it had to "enfold" the corps of directors and embark on market relations ahead of time. Volskiy and his union did not exist in isolation but were inside the system and operated according to its laws.

This is all about the same old thing: looking for enemies; it's about sensating-seekers. But that sort of thing is of no significance to me.

But then, when we talk about someone's unscrupulousness it is not essential to look back, it is sufficient to turn on the television and they show you side by side the dachas of Shakhray and Ryzhkov, of Burbulis, and so on. There are no end of examples. And these same people, when they come to work, make judgments about CPSU money while at the same time making good money for themselves by going in search of this CPSU money.

I was recently riding along Prospekt Mira and in the opposite direction the President was returning from a church service, and there was no counting the cars with their flashing lights which were accompanying him... No leader before had travelled like that... And then Yeltsin will say: "We've got to catch that nomenklatura, it has filched a great deal. Let's take another car off Gorbachev, otherwise he'll get really fat. He can hardly bend his back."

[Lagutina] What, in your opinion, are relations like now between Yeltsin and Gorbachev, especially in the light of Yeltsin's recent warnings?

[Travkin] The obkom secretary has always feared the general secretary. Today President Yeltsin is scared, to the point of panic, about the presence of President Gorbachev. Hence the attempts to humiliate him by any possible method.

[Lagutina] I feel that you have a sincere liking for Mikhail Gorbachev...

[Travkin] I would have said profound respect. The more we move on from those years, the more we can see the great stature of Gorbachev. People say that he should have acted more resolutely... Our cavalryman [kavalerist] Yeltsin is very resolute! So what? Who today is going to claim that if Mikhail Sergeyevich in 1989-1990 had replaced the whole leadership, a coup would have been necessary? A session of the Politburo needed to have been held and neither Travkins, nor Burbulises would have appeared and not a single republic would have yelped. During the coup not a single one acted except Russia. And say what you like, Gorbachev's entourage contained quite a lot of intelligent, educated people, keenly aware of the situation who would not have let the country be led to catastrophe: Aleksandr Yakovlev, for instance, or Georgiy Shakhnazarov. Now we all have the advantage of hindsight and we are very good at heaping all the blame on anyone except ourselves.

[Lagutina] Do you think that Gorbachev still has a chance?

[Travkin] I don't think so, not now. But if he had set himself that aim it is possible that he would have achieved what he wanted. After all, I remember how we all used to laugh at him when he said that it is imposible to divide up the country bloodlessly... In principle all his gloomy forecasts regarding the consequences of the collapse of the Union have come true...

[Lagutina] But how do you personally see the solution of the conflicts in the Dniester region and South Ossetia? Do you support the viewpoint of Vice President Rutskoy concerning the need to use force?

[Travkin] There are three people who bear not only moral but also legal responsibility for this bloodshed: Yeltsin, Kravchuk, and Shushkevich. They sat down and signed the Belovezhskaya Forest agreement to the effect that there was no Union and they assumed responsibility for the fact that everything would take place without people getting killed. The next day the killings started. And these three must now pull out all the stops to ensure that the bloodshed ends. Otherwise, everthing for them will count for nothing, as if they had signed some mischievous little act and gathered for some sort of stag party. If that rotten approach to these vitally important things does not change, things will turn out in a terrible way...

[Lagutina] How should they act, in your view?

[Travkin] If we say that there exists a right of the peoples to self-determination then the referendum is the law and consequently the right of South Ossetia to reunite with North Ossetia must be acknowledged and so forth.

[Lagutina] But at the same time one evidently will have to acknowledge the right of Tatarstan too, realizing full well that after this Bashkiria will follow...

[Travkin] We cannot take that path because it will lead to the disintegration of Russia and to an even greater lowering of people's standard of living. This means that a second path remains—to use force, which will most likely have to be done. Yes, I fully support Rutskoy's viewpoint. If a state cannot defend its statehood, then how can it defend the rights of a single individual? What talk can there be about respect for Russia if everyone who feels the inclination to do so just wipes his feet on Russia. And all this is taking place because of the sense of total impunity. They tried it on, it worked, and so they went on and on doing the same. Bah! And these feeble guys can't do anything. And now Moldova suddenly declares that it is virtually in a state of war with Russia!

[Lagutina] You hew to the firm conviction that Russia must be indivisible?

[Travkin] That's the only way it can be. People in Tatarstan argue simplistically: Everything we have is ours. Well then, take back the 400,000 Tatars from Moscow, vacate those apartments... Individuals—those who have turned up as presidents—are playing the national card but there are no lucky people left. Incidentally, the theme of the Union is now going to be heard increasingly loudly and it may even become the dominant theme unless some very rapid steps are not taken. In Moldova, for instance, all the fruit is rotting because it was only Russia that used to consume it. They will undoubtedly come to their senses.

[Lagutina] Nikolay Ilich, you have much experience of economic work, you set up a party, and now it is one of the biggest in the country with a membership of 60,000. Do you feel like putting forward your candidacy for the next presidential election?

[Travkin] I have never overestimated my potential but neither have I underestimated it. As regards what lies ahead, we will see what we will see. But the tragedy of our country is that virtually everyone here imagines himself as the president.

Commentary on Security Council Decree, Skokov

MK1507113392 Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian No. 28, 6-13 Jul 92 p 2

[Article by Aleksey Kirpichnikov: "Yuriy Skokov: New Top Man"]

[Text] The Russian president's decree "On the Procedure for Realizing Decisions of the Russian Federation Security Council" came out on 7 July. The decree gives Yuriy Skokov, secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council, the right to coordinate the work of organs of executive power.

The Security Council is a constitutional organ which prepares the president's decisions on ensuring security. It operates on the basis of the law "On Security." It consists of permanent staff (the president, vice president, first deputy speaker, premier, and secretary of the Security Council) and simply members. Decisions are passed by a simple majority of votes.

The decree contains three points. The first defines which Security Council decisions take the form of presidential decrees and which—the form of ordinances. The second makes it incumbent upon leaders of federal and local organs to unquestioningly fulfill Security Council decisions which concern them. The third is the most important point in the document and entrusts the secretary of the Security Council not only with "monitoring the realization of Security Council decisions and Russian Federation presidential decrees on questions of security" but also with "coordinating the activities of organs of executive power in the process of realizing adopted decisions."

From a formal viewpoint the decree develops the law "On Security" by defining the mechanisms for its fulfillment in accordance with international juridical practice. The rather narrow and specific competence of security councils requires within the framework of this competence both unquestioning fulfillment and the possibility of monitoring and coordination. Under present Russian conditions, however, certain peculiarities arise both in sequentiality [posledovatelnost] and in juridicality [yuridichnost]. On the one hand, before the decree was adopted, if Yuriy Skokov "coordinated executive organs," he did so quite without prior arrangement, bypassing the local representative organs. He is now able to do this perfectly officially because, under the law "On Security," one of the basic tasks of the Security Council is "to determine the vitally important interests of the individual, society, and the state." Therefore, whereas previously the question of washing powder could be investigated in the Politburo as a "political question," it is now investigated in the Security Council as a question of "vitally important interests." Since the Security Council itself lays down conformity with the criterion of importance, the range of questions on which it is possible to coordinate executive organs is unlimited.

The decree is dated 7 July—the day Boris Yeltsin was in Munich. To judge from the practice that is current in the president's administration of affairs, the document was signed on the very eve of his departure. The promptness with which the decree was drawn up and the narrowness of the circle of people who knew about it gave rise to false rumors in the president's administration and the government apparatus. The most "drastic" were that Skokov might substitute for the government on questions of management, leaving Acting Premier Yegor Gaydar with purely representative functions. Fear hath a hundred eyes, and yet such views do not seem absolutely incredible—it is not for nothing that the final legalization of the strong power structure has caused concern among a number of active politicians. Konstantin Borovoy declared that the Security Council has become a suprastate force and that all the political leaders, including Yegor Gaydar, are under the wing of state security. A week before the decree Ruslan Khasbulatov intuitively felt the danger threatening representative power: When the president's budget message was being discussed in parliament, and the acting premier was absent owing to the Security Council session, the speaker commanded: "I believe that he must interrupt his session and appear here. To the whole soviet! Right here is where the Security Council is!"

The rumors that the Security Council recommended the resignation of Kozyrev and his first deputy, which are circulating in parliament, have not yet been confirmed. But the whole subsequent development of events between such powerful executive structures as the Security Council and the government collegium promises to be very interesting.

All-Russia Labor Conference Issues Resolution

PM1507105192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jul 92 p 2

["Letter to the People's Newspaper" from I. Konstantinov, chairman of the All-Russia Labor Conference and Russian Federation people's deputy: "Before It Is Too Late"]

[Text] On 6 June 1992 over 600 representatives of labor collectives, trade unions, and strike and workers' committees founded the All-Russia Labor Conference [ARLC]—a permanent body intended to coordinate workers' actions in the struggle for their rights and interests.

The ARLC comprises people's deputies and representatives of sector trade unions and major labor collectives.

A month has passed. The Russian president and government have failed to react to the demands of the conference participants. On Saturday, 11 July, having discussed the country's socioeconomic situation, an ARLC plenum adopted the following resolution:

Despite repeated appeals by trade unions, labor collectives, industrial and agricultural leaders, social associations, and citizens to the Russian Federation leadership, the president and government have to this day failed to take effective measures capable of arresting the decline in workers' living standards and preventing the collapse of the country's national economy. The destruction of our national industry and agriculture is progressing at full steam, and the scale of worker destitution is unprecedented. An economic policy pursued in the interest of a narrow stratum of corrupt mafia circles is leading the country to utter bankruptcy and forcing millions of workers into complete ruin and poverty.

Under these conditions, the ARLC demands that the Russian Federation Government and president implement the following package of priority measures without delay:

1. To establish state control over prices for goods and services produced in the state sector of the economy;

2. To establish a level for the minimum working wage, pensions, and social benefits which is no lower than the minimum living wage and to guarantee their monthly indexation in line with inflation.

3. To guarantee an average wage level in budget-financed organizations equivalent to 80 percent of average wages in industry.

4. To eradicate state indebtedness in terms of cash wage payments, indexing it 100 percent to inflation during the period of delay.

5. To repeal the Russian Federation Presidential Decree "On Transforming State Enterprises into Joint Stock Companies" and to guarantee the supreme right of labor collectives to choose the form of economic activity.

6. To guarantee state subsidies for the production of the most important food products and to prevent the bankruptcy and enforced liquidation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

7. To suspend the introduction of the Russian Federation Law "On the Insolvency (Bankruptcy) of Enterprises" for one year.

8. To ban speculation in goods produced in the state sector of the economy

9. To introduce quarterly indexation of enterprises' and organizations' circulating capital in line with inflation affecting goods and services for production purposes.

10. To guarantee a preferential 10 percent interest rate on credit to state enterprises and organizations.

11. To publicize the ARLC's demand on the "Ostankino" State Television and Radio Company's First Channel at a convenient viewing time.

The All-Russia Labor Conference proposes that:

1. An All-Russian Strike Committee be formed and a state of pre-strike alert declared across the whole of Russian territory in the event of failure by the president and government to fulfill the aforementioned demands by 17 August this year;

2. An all-Russia one-day warning strike be organized for 7 September if the demands expounded continue to be ignored.

I. Konstantinov, chairman of the All-Russia Labor Conference and Russian Federation people's deputy.

Contact Numbers for the All-Russia Labor Conference: 205-90-86; 205-98-34.

Finance Ministry's Vavilov on Tax Policy

MK1507105792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jul 92 p 1

[Interview with Andrey Vavilov, Russian first deputy minister of finance, by Yelena Kolokoltseva under the "Reform" rubric; place and date not given: "Losses as a Result of Lowering VAT [value-added tax] Rate Will Run to 1 Trillion Rubles"]

[Text] [Kolokoltseva] It was stated at the Sixth Congress for the first time that the Russian Government was concealing revenues. Attacks on the Ministry of Finance have now been stepped up once again... This time a figure of 1.4 trillion rubles [R] is being named. What can you say about this?

[Vavilov] As soon as we submitted the budget message for 1992 to the Russian Supreme Soviet, its Budget-Control Committee launched a campaign of exposures against the government, which is allegedly concealing the budget's revenues. The thing is that the methods the Supreme Soviet uses to determine revenues are based on obsolete methods for calculating the GNP, production costs, and commodity production based on forecasting approaches to the development of the economy as a whole in Russia. This is a very simple but, unfortunately, obsolete balance-sheet calculation. It is obsolete because demand varies and falls, and there are nonpayments... In addition, the index which the Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] now reflects the actual situation very little. The Goskomstat can measure the retail prices index perfectly decently, but as regards wholesale prices the Goskomstat does not really know what happens to them. The thing is that free prices on our unbalanced market are discriminatory, i.e. they are different in each individual deal. The Goskomstat can monitor these indexes for certain deals, but not for the majority. As a result, the Goskomstat cannot provide a real picture of wholesale prices. But it is precisely on the basis of these indexes that the Supreme Soviet has calculated the volume of gross output, commodity production, profit, and the growth in wages and drawn the totally false conclusion that our budget revenues will increase approximately tenfold during the second half of the year compared with the first half.

[Kolokoltseva] As far as I know, there is the so-called conciliation commission, in which representatives of the Finance Ministry on the one hand and of the Supreme Soviet on the other participate. Have any compromises been reached?

[Vavilov] After long work by the Russian Supreme Soviet Conciliation Commission, Supreme Soviet experts lowered their assessments on the majority of items. But at the same time the Supreme Soviet took the stance that the budget can supposedly collect revenues which plainly cannot be collected. Since these revenues can be collected, the Supreme Soviet believes, we must lower taxes—to 14 percent for VAT [value-added tax]—and provide exemptions relating to profits...

[Kolokoltseva] The Supreme Soviet examined the question of taxes 10 July. Has the conciliation commission's work produced any results?

[Vavilov] We reached a compromise on all taxes except VAT. They have a perfectly clear stand on VAT—to halve the rate, i.e. to 14 percent.

[Kolokoltseva] What are the possible budget losses in this case?

[Vavilov] According to our estimates, they will run to approximately R1 trillion... This sum is roughly comparable with expenditure on the social sphere. The consequences of such a reduction are absolutely obvious. In the event of a marginal deficit being approved, we will be unable to fund expenditure other than planned expenditure.

In addition, the VAT revenue is mainly republican (just 20 percent goes into local budgets). Therefore this VAT reduction will hit not only local budgets. It will result in us approximately halving our expenditure... This means that, thanks to the Supreme Soviet's position, we will be unable to fund either defense spending or the servicing of the state debt.

In this case, in accordance with the law "On the Fundamentals of Budget Organization and the Budget Process," the system of sequestration is clearly brought into play. This means that we fund only protected items of expenditure, do not open any additional funding, and generally introduce a policy of rigid austerity.

The Russian Supreme Soviet is simply putting us in a tough financial situation roughly comparable with the one that existed in January and February...

Volskiy Interviewed on Economic Situation

OW1607084492 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Jul 92

[Studio interview with Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, chairman of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, by Sergey Lomakin; from the "Utro" program's "The Third Estate" feature —live]

[Text] [Lomakin] Once again I would like to introduce a visitor to our studio. I am very happy that Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy is visiting us here because he is not often a guest of the Utro program. I have finally managed to entice him here to our studio, and we will let him go in a few minutes. But first I will ask him a few questions. So, Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, chairman of the Russian Union of Industrialists.

Naturally we will talk about the economy, about its condition today, and possibly make some forecasts for the rest of the year, if they can be made. Arkadiy Ivanovich, quite naturally everybody is talking about the figure which shows a drop in production of 20 percent—at least that is what the specialists are saying—and this decline will continue until the end of the year. I do not know how this can essentially affect the welfare of every person living in the country, since the percentage figures do not mean very much yet, but everybody will feel this primarily in his own pocket and in his own life. What is the main reason for this decline?

[Volskiy] Well let us talk about the decline first. But first, good morning to you all. I would like to clarify things a bit. The overall decline in production is less than you said, but entire branches that concern us greatly are falling with catastrophic speed. I will permit myself to cite a few figures. I received them yesterday from the TsSU [Central Statistical Administration]. As a matter of fact, I regret very much that they are no longer published. The people should know them. So here are a few basic parameters—I will not read all of them.

The output of tractors fell by 30 percent in the first six months of the year, railway freight cars by 25 percent, textiles by 17 percent in six months, and by 37 percent or almost 40 percent in June. Footwear fell by 25 percent during the half year and by 30 percent in June. The most important item, meat, fell by 27 percent in six months and by 30 percent in June. The output of all dairy products fell by 50 percent and 47 percent in June, and at the same time you know how milk is being discarded in garbage dumps and into the ground. Retail goods turnover dropped by 40 percent. This is a figure that is extremely serious for us all. Naturally incomes are also lagging somewhat.

Now back to foodstuffs. The procurement of agricultural products [fell] in absolutely all economic categories. Livestock and poultry fell by 70 percent over last year and by 68 percent in June. I have already mentioned dairy output. Eggs fell by 73 percent over last year and 67 percent in June. The most frightening thing, I think, is with the procurement of fodder. It is proceeding at a considerably slower pace than last year, which itself was not too good. Now if you look at this, this report that I have here, for me this is no longer shock therapy, it is shock surgery, if you wish.

Shortly before he died, Konstantin Simonov wrote a quatrain: You can talk about education if you eat three times a day, if you eat but once a day you can blow education away. So I am firmly convinced that we are making an enormous mistake by disregarding the concern or struggle, if you wish—although for some reason everybody treats this word with sarcasm—for this year's harvest, for preserving the production of foodstuffs, and for the priorities in this sphere. That is what I would like to say first.

The second thing of course is the fact that the economic situation in the country today is bad and the main mistake that is being permitted. We criticize the government for this, although overall we are loyal, just like the television viewers whose opinions you presented earlier today are, but, we are concerned over the fact that a system of priorities has not been announced. Everything is being done in a general way, everything is unfortunately being done to put a good face on things, as if we knew and expected that production would fall, that this was normal. But this is not normal.

[Lomakin] Do you think that this was not known, that this was not foreseen?

[Volskiy] Yes, I think so. But the most important thing is that they were not concerned about preventing this. You know, attempts now to give explanations are, like Peter I said, to make a victory out of confusion. The people do not understand this. This is essentially a bureaucratic explanation. For instance, I recently returned from Ivanovo where people had not received their wages for two months because there was no money. The same goes for the Moscow area and other cities. You know, even explanations over television, to the effect: Excuse us comrades, but our press cannot keep up with the printing job, the people do not understand this explanation at all.

People think that if the presses cannot keep up with the printing job, and if proper measures were not taken at the right time, then it should have been explained to everyone that if most prices increased then salaries would increase and a new pricing scale would be needed.

Ultimately though, this is not the issue. You can have millions of lira or yen and live well. The main issue is not the pricing scale—the main issue is that we are not doing anything to deal with the problem. Everything that is looming up in connection with this is very dangerous.

[Lomakin] Arkadiy Ivanovich, what do you think about this? I have been following Gaydar's activities fairly closely and must say that you have to give him credit for the persistence with which he is pursuing the idea of getting credits from the West. Supposedly the West will help us and the West will save us. I am not convinced that this is true, but this is the impression one gets. There are no credits, there is not a penny, and the country has now reached the critical point after which chaos begins.

[Volskiy] Well, the West will help us. This is something we have read in the classics before, like in the story The Golden Calf. But this is not the point. I respect Gaydar very much and he is a clever person who knows economics fairly well. I would simply like to say that we are running all over the world with an outstretched hand, sometimes on the brink of national self-humiliation, and asking for billions, while at the same time our economic structures are hauling raw materials to the West. They not only hauled the materials off to the West, but they left the money there too.

Now this is an official fact. Boris Nikolayevich cited a figure in France, and it has now been confirmed, that Russia has $20 billion lying in Western banks, yet, you understand, we are rejoicing because the Group of Seven gave us 1 billion. These are not commensurable figures. So at some stage even bigger credits will be received, particularly when private investors get involved. But you know, the main thing is to see that the credits do not go down the city sewer—I am omitting one intermediate phrase or stage here since the program is live—or are wasted by us. We should direct them into some reasonable purpose-oriented projects and investments.

But at the same time there is a question. For instance, Vice President Rutskoy, who is responsible for agriculture, said today that we are losing 60 percent of our produce. I am not familiar with this figure. The figure I am familiar with is 30, 40, or maybe 50, but even if it is 60 let us use these credits to preserve produce. This means equipment for cooling milk, freezers, refrigerators, and so forth, and transportation and packaging. I mean the entire complex—in other words, the very same priorities over which we are criticizing the government.

[Lomakin] Arkadiy Ivanovich, I recently read that academician Abalkin said that not a single measure aimed at financial stabilization which is being pursued by the government is directed at stimulating production. Maybe this is where the main trouble lies. Production is not developing, and so there is no possibility for our own entrepreneurs to develop.

[Volskiy] I respect Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin very much. We are old friends and comrades. Nevertheless, I will permit myself to recall that I have been saying this for the past three years. There was not a single article in which I did not mention the fact that we cannot live only at the macroeconomics level. This is essential, but it is not sufficient. If enterprises are not given incentives, if not to increase production, then to at least maintain it at the level already achieved, there will be nothing, and the reforms will die.

This must be recognized and I am very happy that today the government, together with us, together with Professor Yasin, director of our Union of Industrialists, has worked out a middle-term [sredne-srochnaya] program in which enterprises are given a sufficient role. I consider this to be a good step forward, and it must be implemented. The whole issue now centers on power, but there is a major deficit here. You spoke earlier with the magazine editor before I came on, and he also talked about a deficit of power. It can be felt everywhere.

You know that, unfortunately, against this background, the mentality of the Russian person is such that he will include everyone in the term government. Ask your wife, my wife, my daughter: What is the government? And naturally right away you will hear Yeltsin and Burbulis. Of course, they will mention Khasbulatov, Rutskoy naturally, and then possibly Gaydar. So if somebody thinks that you can limit yourself to one name and say that Gaydar, say, is to blame, this would be wrong. This perception of government must be taken into consideration. Everybody must take responsibility. At some point this internecine struggle should be stopped and a struggle for the task at hand must begin. This is our main thesis.

[Lomakin] I agree. Arkadiy Ivanovich, now with the general feeling of dissatisfaction among the people—well I do not know if among the majority or minority of the people—over how the reforms are being implemented—not with the reforms themselves but with how they are being implemented—public opinion suggests that nevertheless there is confidence in Yeltsin and the Government. So I have a question. How great are the patience and self-control of Russian citizens? What would you say?

[Volskiy] I consider, and I am deeply convinced, that the patience and self-control have to some extent reached their limits. This is no longer conjecture on my part since I have toured half the country. At some meetings, as you know, I got quite a drubbing. It is impossible when people, pensioners, do not get any wages for two months and they are told: Just wait until August when the situation will normalize. I cannot listen to this. Yes, you know, the Russian people are patient, but you also know that the outcome of impatience is quite different with us than with other people. And it is a fact that senseless, bloody riots could occur and that everything ought to be done to prevent them.

Now how can they be prevented? They can be stopped by force, which is extremely undesirable, or they could be prevented by some wise actions. We have a program of this sort. We have proposed it to the government. I must say frankly that we are loyal to it, but if proposals of this sort are not accepted, then we will be in conflict. We very much would not like to see this happen.

But you must understand, for instance, a campaign has now been started against the directors of plants. In fact, the directors of plants, institutes, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and so forth. But that is not the point. It is against the director corps, as it has become fashionable to say these days. Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov excelled at this, claiming that the directors were almost seeking to seize power, and so forth. But they are the most unfortunate of people. They are face to face with the working class every day, and every day they try to somehow restrain people. But there is a limit to what they can do too. And at this time, when they are trying very hard, at this time completely wild attacks have begun. The papers write about all those unruly fat cats, about the red generals, they seek to break their spines. You know there is a song by Makarevich. I cannot remember all of it, but there is a phrase in it that made a great impression on me: The era of the courageous has ended and the era of the upstarts has begun. [Zavershilas epokha smelykh i nachalas epokha smelenkikh]. You know, this is very important for me. I have an intuitive feeling. It is true, these upstarts, those who sat quietly before have really raised their little voices now, and there is no longer a basis, something everyone can throw themselves at. It has disappeared, it is in the courts, and so forth. So now they are picking on the directors. For example, I am completely flabbergasted by the publication of the RF [Russian Federation] Politika Center, although I do not know what this is.

I have no idea what it is, who established it, or how it was established, but NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA went so low as to publish this [takes a deep breath]—well once again I will try to find a polite expression—material, let me call it that. [Volskiy reads from a sheet of paper] The large-scale and extensive operation begun at the initiative of the Central Committee during the first half of 1991 with the approval of Gorbachev and under the leadership and decisive participation of Volskiy and Vladislavlev and many others from the practical side of the economic nomenklatura, and so forth, is nearing its conclusion. And regardless of the aims the directors, politicians, and other practitioners set themselves, the spring, or the crime, placed in the basis of the system that they are defending will unravel independently of their wishes.

Shakhray writes in the papers and outlines a scenario for the president's ouster, and for some reason he recalls that the democrats have done nothing during the past two years and will perish, the ultra patriots will also perish, while the directors will seize power. But the directors do not need power, they want to see their native country flourishing and then they will have no other concerns.

You know I am saying this very seriously. Just take a look at the discussions in the press recently. Just look at the last papers. Some say that the country will turn left, others claim the country will go right. I say it will fall apart [poydet v raznos] if we do not stop and reconsider today. We have time, but not much time, in order to take practical steps from the bottom. The talk about local power, about governors, about presidential representatives, about plant directors, was not in vain. We must make use of all this.

But, decrees are not being fulfilled. I have respect for the president, and everybody should respect him. But if the president adopts a decision on a free zone in Zelenograd, and some petty official permits himself to reverse it, you know, the people in Zelenograd do not understand this. It should not be allowed for a village elder to change the decrees of the president. This is nonsense. So I consider that we must act and I think that many television viewers will agree with this.

[Lomakin] I am afraid, Arkadiy Ivanovich, that the temptation to look for enemies within is too strong. This is something that sits in Russians...

[Volskiy interrupts] Yes, it is our misfortune.

[Lomakin] ... both with new and old authorities, it remains, unfortunately. Let us hope that we will gradually get away from this; that we will quietly look into one another's eyes and see not an enemy, but a friend and comrade in arms, or at least a fellow citizen.

[Volskiy] You know Sergey, I have had to work with you often in more difficult conditions. I think you have always conducted yourself wisely. I always watch your program and I think it is on the right track. But even on television you should sometimes stop those who seek enemies.

[Lomakin] Thank you Arkadiy Ivanovich, and on this note we will finish. I hope that most of our television viewers share this opinion and feel that there is no need to seek enemies, that comrades in arms should be sought, and that we should work normally first of all.

[Volskiy] Thank you, and yes, there should be a dialogue, there should be work, and we must seek the peoples' trust.

[Lomakin] Thank you. Our guest was Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists. Thank you.

[Volskiy] Thank you very much.

Yeltsin Aide on Legal Office's Functions

PM1607082192 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Jul 92 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the Russian Federation president's State-Legal Administration, by Petr Akopov and Andrey Kolesnikov under the "Law" rubric; place, date not given: "The State-Legal Administration Has No Political Functions, Aleksandr Kotenkov, Chief of the Russian Federation President's State-Legal Administration, Claims"]

[Text] [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Over the entire six-month period that the State-Legal Administration [SLA] has been in existence, there has been no end of talk about the SLA's unconstitutionality and the illegality of its very existence.

[Kotenkov] The SLA's unconstitutionality is something that has been invented by journalists and some of our fellow lawyers. The SLA is not an organ of state administration, it is purely an organ of the president's apparatus. The president is entitled to set up consultative and coordinating structures. The SLA is the organ that makes possible the legal side of the president's activity. Nothing more.

The SLA has been established to ensure there is unity between the juridical activity of the president and the government. The administration's expert functions are the most important thing.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Is such an enormous complement of staff needed to carry out these expert functions? Do the regulations on the SLA encompass not just the coordination of norm-setting, but also the coordination of any activity on the part of the law-enforcement organs? Is the SLA not simply replacing other law-enforcement organs, specifically the Ministry of Justice?

[Kotenkov] According to the regulations, the SLA only coordinates norm-setting and ensures interdepartmental juridical regulation, because it is sometimes impossible to establish a full-fledged juridical act without an administration. For example, we were instructed to finalize the decree on border customs protection. The interests of no fewer than 10 ministries and departments coincided here. A coordination organ is needed that can take account of everybody's interests. This can be done by the president. And, of course, he entrusts this to his administration.

The functions of the SLA and the Ministry of Justice overlap. But the Ministry of Justice basically deals with backup for the activity of the courts and the legal implementation of the administration's functions. We, however, are not an administrative organ. And our functions only overlap in the implementation of the blueprint for judicial reform.

We keep track of the ratio of government resolutions to presidential decisions. One of our most important functions is providing legal information, i.e. information backup for the activity of the government and presidential apparatus. A codification that is probably unique in the former USSR is concentrated in the administration, namely a digest of USSR normative acts since 1917, and also a retrospective digest of Russian acts since the middle of the last century. We are a kind of interdepartmental organ that provides a legal bond between the president and the government. S. Shakhray's idea in setting up the SLA was specifically to eliminate duplication in the work of state organs. Many people do not like this. One very important reason why the SLA provokes extremely stiff opposition from other apparatus structures is that the SLA is probably the only organ in the presidential and government apparatus that has no connection with former party structures. It is an organ that has been created from scratch, and we have practically no people left over from the CPSU Central Committee. For example, when we set up a law-enforcement organs' department and a department for defense and security issues, staff from the former Central Committee law-enforcement organs' department, which had later become Gorbachev's presidential department, came to us en masse. We refused their services, but they settled in the government apparatus and have harbored a grudge against us ever since. We created a new organization from completely new people. We have a total staff of 216 aged between 35 and 40 on average. Almost half of them are professional lawyers.

Our structure is something of a foreign body in the administration; we have a dual position—we are formally part of the president's administration, but are not subordinate to the chief of the administration.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What stage is work on the Law on the Government now at? There have been reports, have there not, that the draft law was sent back from the Supreme Soviet for final reworking?

[Kotenkov] Unfortunately it has not been returned. It got a negative evaluation from Supreme Soviet committees, but officially it has not been recalled . The draft submitted to the Supreme Soviet bypassed the SLA and contains a number of norms that directly violate the Russian Federation Constitution and restrict the Russian Federation president's prerogatives. A variant Law on the Government has been prepared in the SLA. To a certain extent the story of these documents is even quite sad. But bearing in mind that the draft submitted to parliament got a completely negative evaluation in the Supreme Soviet, I think that like it or not they will be forced back on our draft. With regard to the draft law prepared in parliament, it too suffers by being one-sided. We, however, have prepared our draft with the coordination of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation, and I am astonished by some of Khasbulatov's remarks that the SLA should cooperate more closely with Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] How are your relations with the president's administration, its leader Yu. Petrov, and the government apparatus shaping up?

[Kotenkov] It is no secret that one of Shakhray's reasons for resigning was his personal relations with Yu. Petrov. Conflict situations arose. We no longer experience these kinds of problems in our work now. Admittedly, we do not communicate as often as we would like, but I think we will establish closer contact. Yu. Petrov does not interfere in our administration's activity.

As far as our work with the government apparatus is concerned, however, relations are very difficult. The government apparatus is staking a claim to the execution of many functions currently handled by the SLA. They would like to have more autonomy and to be able to shake off the influence of the SLA with regard to government norm-setting. And they are fairly successfully moving in this direction. But... I shall not cite specific normative acts; this is too important a political issue. There is a document lying on my table that already bears Gaydar's signature, as a result of which I am prepared to disband the SLA and resign my position. It was not prepared in our administration and was not coordinated with us. I got a call after it had already been signed and was asked to bring it up to the required standard. But it had already been signed, and its contents are such that if it were ever published I would be prepared to resign in order to avoid bearing the responsibility for documents like this.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What is the fate of the draft constitution prepared by the SLA?

[Kotenkov] The draft constitution prepared under the guidance of S. Shakhray for the Sixth Congress has now been finalized by our specialists. But... the story of our constitution is very dramatic, and right now I am not going to take it on myself to guess the fate of our draft.

But it seems to me that it is not expedient to hold a referendum at the present time on this issue, or on any other issue. This can only complicate the situation in the country.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Why are the law-enforcement organs so inert nowadays? Why don't they take measures to protect the rule of law?

[Kotenkov] That is an extremely difficult question...

The reason for the temporizing stance being taken by the law-enforcement organs—which sense the instability of the situation—is the possibility that power will change hands; they want to stay loyal to a potential political leadership of the country and reserve the right to say: "I did not stand in your way..."

INTERFAX President Interviewed

MK1507101592 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 92 p 5—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Interview with INTERFAX President Mikhail Komissar by V. Yakov on page 3 of NOVYY VZGLYAD section; place and date not given: "Secret Weapon of Fourth Estate"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] He is on the short side, thin, smart, languid in his movements, and laconic in his speech. His name might not mean anything to many people, but the name of the organization which he created comparatively recently is known on all continents today, and the world's leading news companies refer to it in their reports.

He and his colleagues feel very assured in the uniform of the fourth estate and have mastered to perfection their regular-issue weapon—information. Today he speaks about the secrets of this weapon's creation and of its mastery specially for readers of NOVYY VZGLYAD.

So, the organization is the INTERFAX news agency. He is Mikhail Komissar, president of the agency.

[Yakov] The first question is about how your agency obtains facts under conditions when many people are having to hunt for them. What do you do: Do you buy them, steal them, obtain them through acquaintances or friends...?

[Komissar] A news agency must not have concepts like "on friendly terms" or "at loggerheads." Normal working relations are needed. Although, of course, we have to adapt to the conditions under which we live, and so we have formed good contacts with the presidents of the present sovereign states and with the leaders of parliaments and governments. Today, in order to obtain interviews, we have access to Yeltsin, Karimov, Nazarbayev... We struggle, as far as we are able, against the monopolism of ITAR-TASS, television, and radio—we arrange our own contacts and establish our own channels for obtaining information. We do not give bribes for this, and no one asks us for them.

We have managed to become a structure linked to everyone. Our principle is not to peep through keyholes, and if a bearer of information asks us not to give it out, we do not consider we have the right to violate that request.

Today there are quite a lot of news agencies of various levels and tendencies, and this only spurs us on, without tempting us to relax and to revel in what has been achieved.

[Yakov] When obtaining and then disseminating information, do you reckon on a certain category of consumers or do you not restrict yourself within any framework, being guided only by whether or not a fact is interesting?

[Komissar] We work initially for an average level of consumer and above, using information that is interesting to a respectable businessman, not to a kabob trader. We provide such global things as, let us say, the level of oil extraction, the ruble inflation rate, the conclusion of agreements between official structures... At the same time we do not comment on the facts set forth but endeavor to indicate the specific origin of the information—the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Security, the president's press service... If, for example, the dismissal of a group of generals from the Ministry of Security has been reported, we have spoken of the reasons for that dismissal by citing ministry officials and have not made our own interpretations.

[Yakov] But what if it had simply been of advantage to Barannikov to let out the necessary information through you, having "laundered" it and thus using you in his own interests?

[Komissar] That is not how disinformation [deza] is carried out. In this case the minister is not the person who will push disinformation and arrange a collegium for this purpose, gathering 50 generals for it and dismissing 20.

In addition, we carried out a check through our own channels—yes, the collegium did take place, the question was discussed, and the decision was adopted, so there were no grounds for doubt.

But we have encountered a situation where a leading official passed us information which atracted active public attention, while in fact it proved apocryphal. Consequently, we treat such "officials" with special caution and endeavor to double-check everything that comes from them.

[Yakov] Do employees leave your agency?

[Komissar] Yes, they go, as a rule, to foreigners who buy them up for dollars, and this is a problem for us, because they do not entice the bad ones. The wage bracket of our correspondents goes from 9,000 to 17,000 rubles a month. We do not yet have our own correspondents' centers, but we want to set them up and are already embarking on this.

[Yakov] And yet your subscribers—television, radio, newspapers—essentially buy information from you and have a right to do with it whatever they consider necessary.

[Komissar] Yes, but at the same time it would do no harm to refer to us, as required by the Law on the Press and as is stipulated in the terms of our subscription. The "Vesti" program behaves quite shamelessly, time after time setting forth our information as though they had prepared it. Why do we regard this with alarm and distress? Because our materials go to 60 countries, to all the sovereign states of the former Union, to the presidents of Russia, the United States, and France. Our own image is important to us.

[Yakov] When did you transmit your first information?

[Komissar] In July 1989. We began putting it out permanently in September. During this time many people have left, some did not like the style, others did not like the work regime, when there is no time left for smoking breaks or for drinking coffee half the day, as in other "offices," where half the employees constantly gad about in bars. Here it is necessary to work constantly, for the competition keeps us on our toes, and if you slacken off you will at once be overtaken, because the clever NEGA agency works alongside in the same information space, and one of the best is the newspaper IZVESTIYA, which knows how to dig up information thoroughly.

No one will bring us facts in a sealed envelope, as was always the case in TASS, and we have constantly to seek them, obtain them, and be first to transmit them. At the same time we do not play at politics. Our employees are banned from taking an active part in political parties or movements, and they are not allowed to express their own viewpoint in an interview—only facts.

We do not subscribe to any political line. We are objective: neither for nor against the government. We are a supranational structure which provides information.

[Yakov] And yet you can use information as a weapon in the struggle against your own opponents or competitors—to compromise them, for example.

[Komissar] We do not do this. If today we succeed in "stripping" them, tomorrow they would "strip", and there would be a war of attrition—which is no use to anyone. We do not indulge in such "games." It is hard to put pressure on us—we do not have internal telephones or special transport, we are an independent commercial structure, and so we feel considerably freer.

'Alfa' Group's Subordination, Tasks Discussed

PM1407125592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jul 92 First Edition p 5

[Final part of Andrey Zhdankin feature, incorporating interview with Colonel Sergey Goncharov, deputy commander of the former USSR KGB's "Alfa" Group, under the rubric "Secret Services"; place, date of interview not given: "'Alfa' as It Is"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Zhdankin] Under whose command is "Alfa" at present?

[Goncharov] After the August events, Bakatin summoned us (at that time "Alfa" was part of the USSR KGB) and said that Gorbachev had ordered him to inform us that from this moment on the group was under his sole command. After Gorbachev's quiet departure, Boris Nikolayevich passed on the same order to us. Now we do not have the right to initiate any actions without his instructions.

[Zhdankin] Do you guard the president himself?

[Goncharov] Structurally speaking, the group is part of the Russian Federation Main Protection Administration, which also includes Aleksandr Vasilyevich Korzhakov's service—the president's personal guards. We work in the closest contact with it.

[Zhdankin] Prior to the August events, it was a group of professionals in the struggle against terrorism, now it has become a group of guards. Is experience not being lost?

[Goncharov] The guys from Korzhakov's service are not guards, they have been and still remain bodyguards. This is fairly complicated work. Together with them we are the president's last line of defense. Our main function has remained as it was before—the struggle against terrorism, but terror is also directed against the president whom the people have elected.

We are not losing our skills, although now we really are much less involved in operations. But we are filling in with training sessions. It has to be said that the situation both in Russia and the CIS requires our participation or intervention more and more often.

[Zhdankin] Several years ago people started using "Alfa" as a deterrent force, involving it in political games. Is this not insulting to professionals?

[Goncharov] While the Union existed, the group was put in action in virtually all crises involving arms and disturbances. They also included other situations which displeased the central authorities. From a human point of view there was much that we did not like, but no one intended to ask us about our wishes—we were given orders. We had to salute and carry them out. Vilnius was the last straw, and our patience ran out. After this many of our men applied to be discharged. Honestly, had it not been for Vilnius we would not have refused to storm the White House.

[Zhdankin] Did those who applied to be discharged leave?

[Goncharov] We tried to persuade them to review their decisions, and after the putsch, when the commanders were dotting the "i's", staffers were convinced that "Alfa" would no longer carry out criminal orders.

[Zhdankin] This is perhaps an improper question. What is the personal attitude to Yeltsin in "Alfa"?

[Goncharov] We have trust in him. The people recognized him and elected him as president—for us that is the law. The principle of secret services in all civilized countries, which we entirely share, is that the president is a symbol of authority, and we should guard him against any illegal infringements.

[Zhdankin] Surely your personal attitude was involved when you were ordered to "bomb" the White House?

[Goncharov] Previously we were commanded by authorities which were answerable for nothing. Look at Vilnius, Tbilisi, and Baku. This is a mass of political errors, not to say crimes. Was anybody held answerable for this? Mikhail Sergeyevich said that he was asleep, that he was not informed. The television tower was seized—"But I didn't even know." Excuse me, we are no fools and realize that without his orders nobody would have been able to... I am sure that Boris Nikolayevich will never say that he was asleep when the group was given its orders. A weight has been lifted, which bore down on people so strongly. Each time we went out on an operation, we did not know how we would be regarded in a few days' time: Today you are a hero, then it turns out that you are deep in it. I consider that now there is a firm guarantee that things will not be like that. [Goncharov ends]

While this material was being prepared for publication, changes took place in "Alfa." A new commander was appointed. By a decree of the Russian Federation president dated 4 June, Hero of the Soviet Union Major General Gennadiy Nikolayevich Zaytsev has been appointed chief of "Alfa" Group. He has already been the group's commander from 1977 to 1988.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Chairs 13 Jul Presidium Meeting

PM1607095592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jul 92 First Edition p 1

[Russian Supreme Soviet Press Center report: "Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A regular session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium conducted by Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov was held at the Russian House of Soviets on 13 July.

The implementation of the Supreme Soviet Resolution of 4 April 1992 "On the Shipment of Goods (Output) to the Regions of the Far North and Comparable Localities," which has been deemed unsatisfactory, was discussed. The Presidium issued necessary instructions were issued to ministries, departments, and the Central Bank of Russia.

The Presidium established Memorial Day for the Defenders of the Fatherland as 22 June, the day the Great Patriotic War started.

In accordance with parliamentary procedure the following were presented: the draft laws "On the Status of Moscow as the Capital of the Russian Federation"; "On the Status of and Social Safeguards for Servicemen"; "On the Introduction of Amendments to the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation and to the Code on Administrative Violations of the Law of the Russian Federation"; and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Resolutions: "On Food Supplies for the Population of the Russian Federation"; "On the Procedure for the Application of Certain Articles of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Federation-Russia"; "On Economic Support and Legal Backup for the Activity of the Mass Media"; and "On the Newspaper IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR." (The draft resolution of the Supreme Soviet and the results of a check carried out by a commission are published on page 2). The draft laws and resolutions were referred to Supreme Soviet committees and commissions for discussion.

The Presidium agreed the proposal of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation to release 5,000-ruble bank notes into circulation.

The session also examined other questions concerning the state life of the Russian Federation.

Parliamentary Proceedings for 14 Jul Reported

PM1507113792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jul 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary observer Robert Minasov: "Vacation Coming Up. Parliament Steps Up the Pace"]

[Text] Yesterday's (14 July) morning joint session of the Supreme Soviet was chaired by Ruslan Khasbulatov. He warned the deputies that the week just beginning was the final one of the present session and would be very busy. Ruslan Imranovich noted that he appreciated the level of fatigue the parliamentarians have reached during this marathon session, so he asked deputies not to get involved in lengthy, fruitless debates, but to act constructively and productively.

Parliament went straight into its consideration of the very busy agenda for 14 July.

Twice Mikhail Dmitriyev, deputy chairman of the Committee for Interrepublic Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation, mounted the rostrum to report on the law

"On Subventions for Republics in the Russian Federation, Krays, Oblasts, the Autonomous Oblast, Autonomous Okrugs, and the Cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg," the president having sent it back to be examined again, and on the draft resolution "On the Procedure for Granting Privileges and Advantages in Economic Activity on the Territory of the Russian Federation." On both occasions he was rejected, to put it mildly, by the chairman.

The question had to be deferred.

At the 14 July morning session the Supreme Soviet returned to the draft law "On Currency Regulation and Currency Control," which was not adopted in toto last week because of disagreements on certain points. You might say that people's deputy Vladimir Mazayev made a significant contribution to improving this document. All three of his amendments were approved yesterday. The law was adopted.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent back the law "On the Principles of Urban Development in the Russian Federation" that had been adopted earlier. In his message to the Supreme Soviet he noted that the law infringes the rights of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg by not entitling them to legally regulate urban development activities, which conflicts with the authority they possess in accordance with existing legislation. Moreover, the soviets' authority has been reduced, since they have lost charge of architecture and urban development organs.

There were some other observations by the president.

Yefim Basin, chairman of the Committee on Construction, Architecture, and Housing and Municipal Services, and Anatoliy Sliva, deputy chairman of the president's State Law Administration, informed the deputies that they had settled all the differences. The deputies adopted the submitted amendments and approved the law in toto.

Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, submitted the improved version of the draft law "On the Procedure for Recalculating Fines Envisaged in the Russian Federation Code of Administrative Offenses."

We have talked about the draft law before. The gist of it is that the size of the fines is related to minimum pay. For instance, if the maximum fine does not exceed 10 rubles [R], it should be regarded as equal to one-tenth of the minimum monthly pay set by legislation at the moment the offense was committed. A fine of R30 is one third of the minimum pay, and so on.

The discussion of the question of "The Work of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Interparliamentary Group" was somewhat emotional, and kind of "family affair." Essentially, everyone spoke their mind.

Closed Session Held on Security Ministry

LD1507161292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1205 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—The term of office of the Russian Supreme Soviet Temporary Commission for Controlling the Formation of State Security Organs has been extended to December 30, 1992 this decision was taken on July 14 at the Supreme Soviet closed session devoted to the results of the inspection of the Russian Security Ministry activities.

Proceeding from the secret information the deputies were given only after their insistent demands, parliament passed a resolution where the information is taken heed of. The Security Ministry has been instructed to take measures to eliminate drawbacks in their work and pay special attention to providing the supreme organs of state power and government with information and analysis in order to ensure them maximum assistance in working out timely decisions on ensuring the state security of the Russian Federation.

The Security Council of the Russian Federation has been instructed to organize drawing purpose-orientated tasks for the Security Ministry. The resolution notes that re-organization of the ministry's central apparat structure and appointment to the leading posts should be made only in coordination with the Supreme Soviet. It was decided to raise the upkeep of security officers to make it equal to that of Army officers (according to temporary commission representatives, now the upkeep of security officers is much lower). The session also discussed the question of providing Russia's people's deputies with personal weapons. Chairman of the Committee for Legislation Mikhail Mitiyukov said: There's been a lot of talk about it for a long time now. First, a few members of the presidium were issued pistols and then this was stopped. Now the Committee for Law, Order and Combating Crime will evidently start drawing a law to this effect. According to some other deputies, deputies can be given personal weapons now: To do it, they have to apply to the Supreme Soviet Presidium setting out their motives for needing a weapon on the basis of which the Presidium gives, or denies permission to possessing and carrying personal weapons.

Further on Security Ministry

OW1407161992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to "IF" [INTERFAX], Tuesday [14 July] the closed session of the Russian Supreme Soviet has passed a resolution on the results of the parliamentary verification of the Ministry of Security. The Minister is charged with the responsibility for the correction of shortcomings in the work of this service. The parliamentarians were informed about the shortcomings and drawbacks in a 17 pages' note distributed and certified by signatures with a sign "Not for press".

The Supreme Soviet urges the Minister of Security "to complete the rearrangement of the central structure of the Ministry annihilating the intermediate and doubling management staff". The Minister ought to coordinate with the Supreme Soviet rearrangements and appointments for the leading posts. The parliament has prolonged the term of activity of the parliamentary commission on control of the Ministry of Security till the end of this year.

An "IF" 's correspondent managed to learn that in request of Vladimir Isakov the Minister of Security Viktor Barannikov reported that his department has sent materials concerning the deputies Lev Ponomarev and Gleb Yakunin to the Prosecutor's office to bring an action against them.

Ponomarev and Yakunin were heading a commission formed under the resolution of the Supreme Soviet for investigation of the August coup and the role of the CPSU in it. The Ministry of Security concluded that two deputies have made public several documents which contain information presenting a state secret.

Parliament Adopts Law on Closed Territories

LD1407164792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1631 GMT 14 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—The Russian Parliament adopted a law on closed territories in the Russian Federation on Tuesday [14 July].

Under the law, territories with industrial enterprises developing, producing and storing weapons of mass destruction, or utilising radioactive and other materials, as well as military facilities which need a special regime of security will be declared closed administrative-territorial entities.

Supreme Soviet Proceedings for 15 Jul Reported

LD1507213392

Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1952 GMT on 15 July carries a 30-minute program of highlights of the Russian Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 15 July.

The program begins with Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov giving the floor to Ruslan Orekhov, a spokesman for the president and deputy head of the State Legal Directorate, who describes the draft law on subventions of republics, krays, and oblasts within Russia and Moscow and St. Petersburg. The draft is put to the vote and adopted.

Deputies then move on to discussion on the draft decision on the rehabilitation of Cossacks. One deputy describes it as anticonstitutional, but this is disputed by deputy presenting the draft. The question is put to the vote and rejected.

At 1958 GMT an unidentified deputy reads out amendments to the draft decision on the proposed extension of judges' terms. This is adopted. Another deputy then presents a draft decision on changes to the pension law. This is adopted. A deputy from the Soviet of the Republic's Social Policy Committee presents changes and additions to the draft law on employment. This also is adopted. A deputy proposes two draft decisions on changes to the law on restrictions on activity of monopolies on commodity markets. These are adopted.

At 2007 GMT the chairman of the Committee for Work of Soviets for the Development of Self-management proposes changes to the draft law on local self-government. These are adopted.

At 2010 GMT highlights of the evening session are shown. A deputy proposes changes to the law on standing orders of the Supreme Soviet; this is followed by brief extracts from contributions from the floor on this proposal. The draft is rejected. Another deputy presents changes to the law on underground minerals regarding licensing. A deputy decribes the situation regarding such licenses in Magadan Oblast. The law is put to the vote and adopted.

At 2017 GMT Deputy Grigoryev from the Interrepublican Committee presents three documents regarding the situation in the Baltic republics. A deputy from the floor complains at violations of rights of Russian emigres in the region. Grigoryev refers to lack of proper customs and border controls.

At 2021 GMT a vote is taken on whether to extend the session by one hour. This is rejected.

The program ends at 2022 GMT.

Debate Over IZVESTIYA's Future Reported

LD1507131292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Here at the Supreme Soviet, on the Krasnaya Presnya embankment, the Russian parliament session is continuing. As I have already reported to our listeners, there are quite a lot of items on the agenda, and some of them have already been discussed. These include the question of subventions for republics within the Russian Federation, for krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts and okrugs and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

This question has been considered by the Supreme Soviet for the second time because it was submitted by the Russian Federation president to the Supreme Soviet for another round of debates. There is a procedure for this. Today the draft decision of the Supreme Soviet on the rehabilitation of the cossack people has also been in the focus of the deputies' attention. Once again it has not been passed. The deputies believe that it requires further revision.

At the same today, a sitting was held by the Mass Media Committee. The attention of journalists was admittedly drawn to it. We have all witnessed the clashes which occurred around the mass media issue in recent days. For instance, on Monday, 13 July, unexpectedly for many deputies, including those who are working at the Mass Media Committee, the question of IZVESTIYA was submitted for consideration by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. In fact, a decision on this issue was supposed to be passed as soon as this week, in fact in the next few days of parliament work.

This draft effectively provides for scrapping the currently existing newspaper IZVESTIYA, which is enjoying great prestige in CIS states and abroad. Various mass news media lodged a protest, and today's meeting of the Committee for the Mass News Media has been dealing with it.

The overwhelming majority of deputies said that the draft was drawn up incompetently from a judicial point of view. It has not been debated in parliament and therefore it cannot be submitted to the Supreme Soviet. Those taking part in the committee meeting were Golembiovskiy, the newspaper's editor-in-chief; Laptev, the former editor-in-chief; and Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

He also spoke on another draft law—the draft on the mass news media—which provides for the setting up of the supervisory council, the recommendations of which would be compulsory for all the mass news media. He said that this supervisory council, even if it is ratified by the Supreme Soviet, will not be able to work without infringing of the law on the mass media, since it will not be a constitutional body, and its activities are not provided for in the law.

By all accounts, tomorrow, when the question of the mass media is nevertheless discussed at the Supreme Soviet, serious polemics will surround it. Speaking at the committee sitting today, Deputy Poptsov, for instance, said that the attempt to pass this draft and to submit it for discussion by parliament is an attempt by certain forces to establish their dictatorship at the Supreme Soviet, and this attempt is purely political in its nature. By all accounts, the question of IZVESTIYA will not be discussed before the end of the session, but generally the question of the mass news media remains on the Supreme Soviet agenda.

Media Leaders Issue Appeal to Yeltsin

PM1607105592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian Morning Edition 16 Jul 92 p 1

["Appeal by Mass Media Leaders to the Russian President"—IZVESTIYA headline—followed by unattributed commentary]

[Text] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich!

We are forced to deliver this appeal by the unprecedented campaign to strangle freedom of speech, which is about to come to a sad end. Judging by the drafts of the proposed resolutions, the question of the mass information media scheduled to be debated by the Russian Supreme Soviet on 16 July will leave the press, television, and radio on tight reins unknown to journalists even during the days of the CPSU's absolute power. The intention to set up supervisory councils for state television companies is simply an attempt to create a new agitation and propaganda section [agitprop], empowered to impose all-embracing censorship. The proposal to "regulate the coverage of activity of the higher power and management bodies" simply means a ban on publicly criticizing their activities and on expressing a free opinion on the work of the parliament and the government.

Having several publications at its disposal, the Supreme Soviet, judging by the frank comments made by its chairman, is not satisfied with the scale of its influence on the press but intends to extend this influence to all the mass media. Such an expansion is taking place in particular with regard to IZVESTIYA. The active attempts by parliamentary leaders to transform this world-renowned independent publication into a pocket newspaper could have destructive consequences not only for IZVESTIYA but for the press as a whole. By denying the democratic press its free voice and by trying to control television and radio broadcasts, parliament is acting against the law on the press and the Russian declaration on human and citizen's rights and freedoms.

In appealing to you, Esteemed Mr President, we recall your statement at the closing session of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies: "Any restrictions on freedom of speech and the press are unacceptable." From the same high podium you also said the following words: "Russia has lost too much because the mass media were tame [karmannye]... As president I will do everything within my powers to prevent a return to those times."

That return is about to begin. The aim of this appeal is to prevent that return with your help. We are not talking only about freedom of speech and freedom of the press, but about solid and rigorous guarantees of our future democratic development.

[Signed] D. Avraamov, chief editor of the magazine ZHURNALIST

V. Bolin, chief editor of the newspaper MEGAPOLIS EKSPRESS

I. Golembiovskiy, chief editor of IZVESTIYA

P. Gusev, chief editor of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS

A. Drozdov, chief editor of newspaper ROSSIYA

V. Ignatenko, general director of ITAR-TASS

I. Ilin, chief editor of the weekly GOLOS

L. Karpinskiy, chief editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI
M. Komissar, president of INTERFAX
A. Kuryakov, deputy director of the "Radio Rossii" radio station
V. Kucher, chief editor of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI
V. Povolyayev, first deputy general director of "Ostankino" radio broadcasting and director of the Mayak radio studio
O. Poptsov, chairman of the Russian State Television and Radio Company
A. Potapov, chief editor of TRUD
E. Sagalayev, chairman of the Confederation of Journalists Unions
V. Starkov, chief editor of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
V. Tretyakov, chief editor of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
A. Udaltsov, chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
Ya. Yuferova, first deputy chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
Ye. Yakovlev, chairman of the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company.

[Dated] Moscow, 13 July 1992.

This letter was handed to the Russian president 14 July.

The president's press secretary V. Kostikov said at a meeting between the leaders of the Supreme Soviet and the Federation's government that considerable attention was also devoted to the situation over the mass media that has developed as a result of the wave of attacks on newspapers known for their democratic views.

The Russian president voiced his concern at the desire to put the press under the control of any single institution of power.

He voiced, in particular, his unequivocal, resolute support for the IZVESTIYA collective.

"Attempts to curb the press may take us back to the sorry time of silence and damage our young democracy," B.N. Yeltsin said. "The press is following its own difficult and contradictory road to political culture, it makes mistakes, it often errs in passing ill-considered opinions, and it sometimes suffers from poor information. But all these 'ailments' are curable with time, political culture, and increasing professionalism. We have a good law on the press that has won the approval of our entire society and we must cooperate with the press on the basis of the provisions of this law, which represents a real achievement for Russian democracy," the president stressed.

ITAR-TASS Statement on Campaign Against Media

LD1607062192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] ITAR-TASS today distributed a statement by its journalists' organization saying that during the past week the leadership of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has unleashed a campaign against media outlets viewed by it as awkward. ITAR-TASS journalists consider that such a selective approach to the work done and positions taken by mass media outlets is a dangerous manifestation of political incompetence by some of the deputies. It shows an inability to calmly and without prejudice assess the dangerous consequences of a campaign to suppress freedom of speech. After all it is quite obvious, the statement stresses, that this is an attempt to revise the Law on the Mass Media, which came into being only with great difficulty. Without a free press there cannot be a free society, the journalists remind us. The ITAR-TASS journalists' organization states that attempts to smother the political and economic right to freely express one's opinions are unacceptable, and voices its solidarity with media organizations of whichever political hue which have been subjected to pressure by legislators.

Supreme Soviet Debate Over Press Analyzed

OW1507084992 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 13 Jul 92

[Studio interview with Pavel Gutenov, chairman of Committee for Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights, by Sergey Goryachev; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Goryachev] A few days ago our newspapers published the draft of the Supreme Soviet decision regarding the state policy on mass media. This draft specifically provides for the creation of a Mass Media Observer Council. As specified in the decision, this council will give recommendations which will be specifically binding on the Ostankino Television Company, Russian Television, and state press organizations. Commenting on this, IZVESTIYA headed its report "An Attack on the Freedom of Speech Is Being Prepared in the Russian Parliament." Two day had not passed when the IZVESTIYA issue was examined at a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. According to the opinions of the authors of the draft, which was discussed yesterday at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, there were serious shortcomings and departures from the law in respect to the registration of IZVESTIYA by its' collective after the August putsch. In the "Utro" studio we have Pavel Gutenov, president... [corrects himself] chairman of the Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights Committee. Good morning Pavel.

[Gutenov] Good morning.

[Goryachev] Is not "An Attack on the Freedom of Speech Is Being Prepared in the Russian Parliament" a rather harsh way of putting it?

[Gutenov] Sergey, I think we need not use a word like 'prepared'. This attack is in progress, and is continuing with the application of the most serious powers. As an invited party in the proceedings, I took part in discussions on the draft law, which at first was called "On The

State Policy in the Sphere of Mass Media." Presently it is called "On The Urgent Measures of Economic Support to the Press," the name it was changed into at yesterday's Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. I first experienced feelings of anxiety, then amazement at what was going on in the Supreme Soviet, and finally a feeling I would call indignation.

[Goryachev] Pavel, I would like to say the following so as to somewhat [word indistinct] our discussion. It seems to me that he who pays the piper calls the tune. In my opinion it is quite natural that the state media should follow the policy of the state and be subordinate to the state to some degree, and should work within the rules which the state is developing. If it is an independent press, then for God's sake that is a different matter, or am I not correct?

[Gutenov] Probably right, but first we need to agree on terminology. What is the state means of mass media, and who should act in the capacity of ordering the music—that is, to act on behalf of the state. Should it be parliament, the president, or the government.

[Goryachev] What is happening now? What are parliament's intentions?

[Gutenov] At the moment there is a struggle for control of the press between the government and parliament, and which ever way the struggle goes the press will suffer.

[Goryachev] How will it manifest itself?

[Gutenov] It's to be manifested this way. According to IZVESTIYA, yesterday's draft decision—which the Supreme Soviet Presidium is preparing to table for discussion by the session—demonstrates what it could develop into. Namely that an unprecedented action is being prepared so that the independent newspaper IZVESTIYA, under formal pretexts, will be returned...

[Goryachev interrupts] Under the control of parliament.

[Gutenov] Under the control of parliament? I do not understand what that means, 'under the control of the parliament.' Whether this will be decided by the leaders of parliament instead of the editorial collegium the Congress of Peoples' Deputies will meet, those are different matters to consider. The main thing is that the argument which is being proposed by the speaker of the Chamber... [corrects himself] speaker of the Supreme Soviet is the same claim which was presented by IZVESTIYA exactly a year ago—in July last year, before the putsch—by the speaker of the previous parliament, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov.

[Goryachev] Then there were also proposals to abolish the law on mass media on the basis....

[Gutenov interrupts] This was sounded somewhat earlier. However, this idea is very tenacious among lawmakers. As it was back then, the talk now is that it is necessary to subjugate IZVESTIYA under parliamentary control.

[Goryachev] Pavel, among those who are watching us, I am convinced there are three major categories: The first are indifferent as to how the mass media operates; the second feel the mass media must be absolutely independent; and the third feel there is too much freedom, too much permissiveness on the pages of the press and on television. Such opinions exist.

In any case, you and I are talking via direct telecast, and no one is interfering with us. We are saying whatever we want, governed only by our own responsibility. However, it seems to me that sometimes there is an overabundance of freedom. It so happens this freedom is used to mask a low professional standard. Just try to refuse someone air time on the basis his material is of low quality. You will be immediately told it is censorship.

[Gutenov] I do not think the main deficiency in our life is an overabundance of freedom. By your qualifications, I consider you to be in the second category of people. I feel the mass media must be independent. At the end of last year, when the law on the press was being discussed, our Committee for the Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights lobbied for a correction according to which representative and constituent organs would not be permitted to establish means of mass media. The parliament did not listen to us at the time, and quickly adopted a different decision. Now the draft decision which will be proposed to the Supreme Soviet speaks about the necessity of taking steps to remove the mass media from under the control of the government, as well as other power structures. But for some reason parliament did not chose to begin with itself. It only gives such recommendations to the government, and as we observes it is grabbing another newspaper for itself, as if owning ROSSIYSKAYA is not enough. That in itself is quite absurd. I cannot imagine a newspaper being owned by the Senate of the United States or the National Assembly of France.

[Goryachev] We are not in Chicago, my dear Pavel. That is how we can sum it up to some degree.

[Gutenov] Then I will simply tell you where we are. I have just returned from Tyumen and brought a Tyumen newspaper in which I read the following: In the Armizonskiy Rayon of the Tyumen Oblast, central newspapers and journals have not been on sale all year. The oblast press has also ceased deliveries, following its closure in July. That is what the legislators should be aching about, if we are to speak about the state policy on mass media. All they argue about is who is going to control the means of mass media, which faction will get access to television, who will get the right to publish this or that information on the pages of IZVESTIYA and other—as they term it—state organs of the press.

[Goryachev] Pavel, thank you. As our television agency promised, we will continue to observe the passage of this law, the arguments for and against it, and will advise our viewers on what is happening with the means of mass media and the policy which the state will apply in respect toward it. Thank you. I think the legislators have been watching us, and possibly some of the ideas may be suggested to them....

[Gutenov interrupts] I would very briefly like to add....

[Goryachev interrupts] Very briefly, Pavel.

[Gutenov] Very briefly, that yesterday the leaders of the country's major newspapers gathered at the confederation in connection with the IZVESTIYA situation, and in connection with the preparation of the draft, and we would like to warn the legislators that they should approach this issue in the most responsible manner because the press will present a united front.

[Goryachev] Well I hope they will not take this as a threat, but as....

[Gutenov] Let them perceive it so....

[Goryachev interrupts] Good, Pavel, let it be so. Thank you. Pavel Gutenov, the president... [corrects himself] the chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights, here on the "Utro" program.

Commentary Views IZVESTIYA's Future

PM1607091192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 1

[L. Nikitinskiy commentary: "Bad News—IZVESTIYA Has Never Pleased the Supreme Soviet Chairman"]

[Text] By way of the dessert, as the last course on its last day of work, the Russian Supreme Soviet intended the final question to be the examination and adoption of two resolutions: One "On Economic Support and a Legal Guarantee for the Mass Media," and a separate one on the newspaper IZVESTIYA. Just what kind of support we can expect becomes clear from the thoughts expounded by R. Khasbulatov at Monday's—13 July—Presidium session: The time has come to "suppress" [zakryt] certain articles of the Law on the Mass Media and, at the same time, certain newspapers which are publishing "all kinds of nonsense." In particular, IZVESTIYA is taking up a great deal of his attention today.

Let's remind the readers that a few months ago IZVESTIYA published a detailed and well argued item on the administrative, that is illegal, resettlement of Chechens in Moscow hotels and their ensuing persecution by the Moscow militia. According to the newspaper's claims, which are based on the testimonies of hotel managers, the Supreme Soviet chairman gave personal approval for this (in respect of the resettlement of compatriots).

Ruslan Imranovich had every opportunity to repudiate this article via legal means, by bringing a law suit against the newspaper, for example. But he did not do so. A suit was filed not by Khasbulatov against IZVESTIYA but by IZVESTIYA against Khasbulatov, after the Supreme Soviet Chairman made a public statement on the general incompetence of the editorial office's leadership and its lack of creditworthiness.

The law suit was accepted by the courts but Khasbulatov, as the defendant, did not turn up, nor was a representative sent. As the holder of a Grade One Russian Prosecutor's Office Distinguished Staffer Certificate of Honor, which was given to him personally by General Prosecutor Stepankov (see KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 29 May), he preferred to appeal to that body.

A thorough prosecutor's investigation soon showed that IZVESTIYA has not made any attempts at robbery, but the journalists' collective, having registered as the newspaper's founder following the dismissal of A.I. Lukyanov, who was opposed to this registration, is not—and this was perfectly clear—the owner of the printing facilities, equipment, or the building on Pushkin Square which they occupy to all intents and purposes as squatters. The contents of the prosecutor's conclusions came as no surprise to anybody: journalists, as experienced people who have already been through something of this nature once before (see V.I. Lenin "The Party Organization and Party Literature"), did not particularly covet what was not theirs, assuming that, along with the property, the new Russian state had inherited the dear departed USSR's inclination to share that property with by no means everybody and by no means for nothing.

No, the journalists themselves do not count as state property, and so far they are not officially regarded as a part of the printing equipment. They are completely free and independent people. And if they behave like good children, then perhaps some of them will be admitted to their old offices, where, obviously, a more correct newspaper of some kind will be founded—"News of the Soviets of People's Deputies of all Eras and Peoples," or something of that ilk. Plain old IZVESTIYA, stubborn in its anti-Soviet sentiment, is free to print its insinuations in the way in which former unofficial publishers did—on a rotaprint machine.

Juridically, this system for sharing out "meat to one, flour to another" could be taken as irreproachable if you omitted to mention that the state property inherited by Russia from the USSR was still considered social property in former times. Although the people got very little from it, in terms of its foundation and development, at the very least, it was in fact everybody's and still is.

The will of the people who read the newspaper, and whose hard-earned kopeks were used, in the final analysis, to construct not just the building on Pushkin Square but also that on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment, is expressed quite categorically through their subscriptions to present-day IZVESTIYA, whose total print-run stands at 3.8 million copies. The readers are not thoroughly convinced that it is the Supreme Soviet which should have control over IZVESTIYA's future and, at the same time, the money we have paid in subscriptions.

IZVESTIYA'S readers include, for instance, a certain B. Yeltsin, whose competence as head of the executive authorities would seemingly cover the direct management of state property. And he has a privatization program, approved by the Supreme Soviet.

The fate of IZVESTIYA, which is hanging by a thread, depending on the precedent which may soon be set by the Supreme Soviet, will be shared by other newspapers, including KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and also by radio and television. After all, journalists are no different from their fellow citizens in the sense that they were separated in precisely the same way by the Soviet authorities from their right of ownership of the means of production so vital to their professional activity. And the new authorities have not put an end to this separation.

The Supreme Soviet is impatient to declare itself the new master of these means of production, as Marx would say, acting in precisely the same way as before—"on the people's behalf." But if Ruslan Imranovich assumes that along with the kennel he automatically inherits the dog sitting inside, the fact is that the dog still has to be trained. He could put a cat in there—it does not bite, nor does it know how to bark.

Law on Financial Aid to Russian Subjects Adopted

LD1507132392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1024 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—The law on subventions adopted by the Russian parliament on Wednesday [15 July] establishes legal basis for centralised financial aid to subjects of the Russian Federation.

The document defines subvention as a fixed volume of state funds allocated on a gratis basis for purpose-oriented financing of expenditures under the budgets of national-state and administrative-territorial formations.

A separate article of the law regulates the granting of subventions to Moscow. They will be allocated to the city to compensate for extra expeditures and losses of the state budget connected with Moscow's functions as the capital of the Russian Federation.

Supreme Soviet Considers Situation in Baltics

LD1607005992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1708 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Galina Vinitskaya and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jul—The atmosphere which is taking shape in the Baltic republics opens way to intolerance and aggressive nationalism. This statement was made today by Vladimir Podoprigoda, chairman of the parliamentary committee for interrepublican relations. He reported on the situation with the Russian-speaking population in an evening session of the Russian parliament. According to him, legislations of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia on issues of citizenship and other acts contain discriminating articles directed at reducing the numbers of ethnic Russians and changing proportional representation in elected bodies. Vladimir Podoprigoda stressed that, irrespective of the assessment of the historical events, Russians who live on the territory of the Baltic states have all the reasons to claim that their rights and freedoms should be fully guaranteed in accordance with internationally accepted norms.

Deputies were given three documents: the draft statement by the Russian Supreme Soviet "on violation of rights of non-indigenous population in Baltic states," the draft appeal by the Russian Supreme Soviet to the international community "on human rights in Baltic states," and the draft resolution by the Russian parliament on the treaty "on fundamentals of interstate relations between the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic and the Republic of Estonia" of 12 January 1991.

A proposal to denounce the latter was put forward during a debate. However, prior to taking a decision parliamentarians intend to listen to representatives of the Russian Defense Ministry and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Gaydar Says Budget Deficit To Grow

LD1607131192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1231 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—Budget deficit will grow in Russia although it is dangerous for economy, acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar told parliament on Thursday [16 July].

"There are very acute problems which cannot be delayed and because of which it will be necessary to increase the budget deficit to a certain extent, no matter how dangerous it is for economy", he said.

The government will have to double subsidies for food and livestock products. They will total 62 billion roubles.

Additional four billion roubles will be earmarked for culture. Ten billion roubles will be allocated for housing construction for the military. Financial revenues which might appear in future can be used "in directions defined by parliament", Gaydar said.

The profitability of the national economy will remain at the last year level of 25 per cent of production costs, as there are no grounds to expect "a sudden upsurge in efficiency" in 1992, according to Gaydar.

The rate of inflation comprised 1.2 per cent last week, but the growth of prices considerably decreased after June 17. If the tendency stays, the rate of inflation may be lower than envisaged in the budget message, he said. The rate of inflation comprises 6-7 per cent a month at present.

Supreme Soviet Decreases VAT on Food

LD1607090192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0809 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Galina Vinitskaya and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—The Russian parliament on Thursday [16 July] decreased the value added tax [VAT] on several types of food to 15 per cent, but kept it at the present day rate of 28 per cent on consumer goods and services.

The food includes flour, cereals, macaroni, and vegetable oil.

The decision adopted on the proposal of the Russian president is valid until the end of the year. In 1993 the VAT will equal 20 per cent and will be reduced to 10 per cent on children's clothes.

The parliamentary decision is a compromise between the demand of Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, who said a sharp decrease of the VAT will trigger hyperinflation, and the proposal of the parliamentary committee on taxes to reduce the VAT to 14 per cent on consumer goods and to 7 per cent on food.

Resolution on Yugoslav Settlement Issued

PM1407143992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jul 92 First Edition p 1

[Resolution No. 3135-1 of the Russian Supreme Soviet "On Promoting the Settlement of the Yugoslav Crisis," signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and dated Russian House of the Soviets, Moscow, 26 June 1992]

[Text] Having heard a report by Russian Foreign Minister A.V. Kozyrev on the development of the situation in the republics of the former SFRY and the Foreign Ministry's line of settling the Yugoslav crisis, and a report on this matter delivered by Ye.A. Ambartsumov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, on the basis of well-considered objective evaluation of the prevailing situation and proceeding from a desire to promote the most speedy establishment of peace and stability in this region, the Russian Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. When deciding the Russian Federation's future steps in connection with the Yugoslav crisis, to cleave to a balanced objective approach to all parties with consideration for the real role and responsibility of each participant in the armed clashes.

2. That the Russian Government ensure the implementation of a foreign policy line that precludes the possibility of armed outside intervention by a single country or group of countries in the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina on any pretext whatsoever. At the same time, to boost international cooperation with a view to securing a political settlement to the conflict. To promote the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid to the republic.

3. To instruct the Russian Foreign Ministry to study the possibility of raising at the UN Security Council the question of easing the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) established by Security Council Resolution No. 757, or of introducing a moratorium on their application on receipt of evidence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's readiness to comply with the provisions of the above resolution that pertain to it.

4. To make it mandatory for the Russian Foreign Ministry to immediately provide the Russian Supreme Soviet with detailed information on the key problems of foreign policy activity which determine the choice of strategically important decisions and on questions that affect Russia's fundamental state interests. To ensure the prompt holding of consultations on such questions with the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations and the leadership of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet
[Dated] The Russian House of the Soviets, Moscow, 26 June 1992

Khasbulatov on Supreme Soviet's Reform Role

PM1507112192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet: "Parliament in the Triangle of Power"]

[Text] In Pushkin's story *The Captain's Daughter* the author writes as a graduate of the Tsarskoye Selo Lycee in the humanities and law, uttering the following prophetic words: "Pray God that we never see a Russian rebellion—it is a senseless and ruthless thing!" the author says, expressing a commonsense view. As Russia struggles to establish law and order, it should realize that it is precisely common sense that is now lacking.

Attempts to establish law and order in an unlawful way have proved fruitless. The supremacy of the law is only possible within the framework of the theory of the division of powers. Here today is where we find the search for the sense and forms of statehood.

In the system of power structures parliament is assigned an extraordinarily important role. After all, parliament is a form of organization of the process of democracy, the formulation of its cultural or, to use the current vogue word, civilized form. B.N. Chicherin, the well-known Russian politician and lawyer, rightly asserted that "parliamentary rule is a sign of the people's political maturity."

In Russia experience of the parliamentary system is comparatively limited. However, it is possible to cite various types of duma: the boyars' duma, the land duma, the veche, the state councils, the senate and constituent assemblies, up to and including the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. Prior to 1990 the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies merely legalized the unlimited power of the CPSU. The real division of powers and consistent realization of the principle of the supremacy of the law became possible only recently.

Parliament as one of the independent branches of power has its own functions. In their most general form they can be summarized as follows.

The majority of social strata represent their own interests in parliament, and it is in this sense that parliament is the real representative organ of all society.

It is in parliament that various social conflicts are resolved (group, class, and ethnic conflicts) which occur as a result of the clash of social interests of various types, and it is in this sense that parliament is an open sphere for the solution of conflicts.

In the system of the organization of state power parliament is a counterbalance to the activity of the executive, and it exercises this function in three main forms: a) public control of the expenditure of state resources; b) the establishment of a legislative framework for government activity and public control of its activity within the framework of the law; c) public control of the personnel composition of the government.

Parliament encourages the development of a multiparty system, because it is an arena for the solution of conflicts among various organized political groups where the struggle for votes takes the form of a struggle for the implementation of political programs.

In conditions whereby the political system and all political life are unstable and there is a general crisis of power, parliament acts as a stabilizing factor facilitating the objectively necessary changes in the political course that the government pursues.

In fact, parliament plays the same role in the political system and political life that the commodity exchange plays in the economic process. It is parliament which takes into account all the factors influencing the elaboration of political decisions. The government simply lacks the ability to take them all into account.

In the conditions of a parliamentary system a major role belongs to the political party. In that context the present-day political situation in Russia presents an interesting picture. In principle the number of political parties formed on the class model characteristic of continental Europe and prerevolutionary Russia is not very high and, apart from literally just a few, they do not enjoy significant influence. The main political unit is not the party nor even the bloc of parties but the mass movement, in other words a type of political organization which is ill-adapted to the needs of stability in parliamentary conditions. This was shown especially graphically in "Democratic Russia," a movement whose whole raison d'etre is uncompromising struggle. It can hardly be a basis for the stability of a working parliament, however, any more than other extreme movements either "on the right" or "on the left."

Parties of a centrist character are developing, too, of course. With substantial support from the population they could be a significant political force on which parliamentary power could be based. However, the centrist parties are, as a rule, "white collar" parties: They represent the intelligentsia, scientific and technical workers, and so forth. In other words, the very forces which are being crushed in the millstone of economic reforms. They, too, are forced to rush to one extreme or the other.

Therefore, in this party chaos, parliament and congresses are more stable and, consequently, are elements of the political system which correspond more to the principles of parliamentarism than any other power structures despite the seemingly unpleasant impression that is given to observers of the parliamentary battleground.

Parliament's participation in the stabilization of the political system also explains the need to preserve the present structure of the Russian parliament for the transitional period until the mandate of the present set of deputies expires. Undoubtedly the Congress of People's Deputies is a strange formation for a classical parliamentary system. However, in conditions when a stable party system has still not been formed, the Congress as a transitional form from direct democracy to parliamentary democracy reflects the essence of the transitional stage considerably more accurately.

Mutual relations between parliament and government are quite a classic theme, which perhaps would not need further comment were it not for the so-frequent attempts to present the government as the only organ capable of implementing reforms even despite the opposition of "retrograde" deputies. This argument is used to justify the need for authoritarian rule in Russia in the transitional period.

The main feature which, in my view, makes it possible to justify the need for the joint existence of government and parliament in a single system of state power is first and foremost that parliament protects the government from a possible slide into harsh, authoritarian methods of rule. This is because the government's work is always or more often than not of a closed and secret nature and is poorly monitored. And a government which is free of all control, especially in conditions of sociopolitical crisis, can, as the experience of history shows, become simply a body representing the interest of a certain sociopolitical group—no more than that. But parliament, by virtue of the openness of its work, is more accessible to the population. Incidentally, because of this it is criticized far more often than the government. And by virtue of this it is capable of restraining the government from extreme measures (even though hitherto we have not been particularly successful in doing so).

I am noting the particular feature taking shape in mutual relations between the Supreme Soviet and the government in Russia. It can be observed, moreover, in virtually all the postcommunist countries (East Europe and the former Union republics). It is an effect of the transitional period. In these conditions it is very difficult to choose the policy which is right from the viewpoint both of the economy and of the population's social situation. The direction of government policy changes quite often, and these changes are linked among other things with changes in government personnel—sometimes, and not all that rarely, with a change of the entire government personnel. In these rapid changes parliament again acts as a factor for stability.

On the other hand the crisis of power, which could more accurately be called a crisis of policy caused sometimes by the chaos of ill-conceived political and socioeconomic decisions, considerably weakens the stability of the state system as a whole. Lack of confidence in the authorities extends equally to the government and to parliament. In this connection, any attempt to radically alter the existing system could lead to its destruction. And even to a radical change of political regime.

There have been many examples of this in world politics. Take those South American countries, for example, where democratic regimes have been overthrown by military dictators very reminiscent in their style and methods of activity of Russian party leaders in the time of the birth of Bolshevism.

Here I should like to stress one very important factor connected with public discussion of the various scenarios for the "dissolution" of the Congress of People's Deputies, its "elimination," the "dissolution" of the Supreme Soviet and soviets at all levels, and so forth.

The fact is that if you set society such a task and try to carry it out within the framework of the Russian Constitution and the law, it can only be implemented in the following way:

first—the Congress of People's Deputies adopts a new Constitution which does not envisage a two-tier legislative organ;

second—the Congress declares itself dissolved and transfers all its powers to the Supreme Soviet;

third—the Congress calls itself the Supreme Soviet, that is, a permanently working parliament.

The possibility being mooted of "dissolving" the Congress by declaring an all-Russia referendum is formalistic, and in legal terms it again entails decisions by the Congress or the Supreme Soviet, because the mere collection of citizens' signatures is simply a precondition for the Supreme Soviet or the Congress to make the decision to hold a referendum and moreover for a referendum to be organized.

There is no other legal means of eliminating the Congress unless you include attempts to "legitimize" various scenarios for a coup on the lines of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Of course, we can see a great many defects in our Constitution which, although it has been transformed thoroughly, still needs to be replaced. But it is necessary to note that the existing Constitution is absolutely no barrier to the implementation of economic and political reforms—all that is necessary is to implement them professionally on the basis of laws and resolutions adopted by the Supreme Soviet. The mechanisms of powers and restrictions must operate within the limits set by the Constitution, the laws, the power of parliament and the president, and the prerogatives of the Constitutional Court and legal organs combined with flexible mutual relations within the power structures.

The arguments used by the supporters of the presidential republic are deliberately conducted at an extremely low intellectual and philosophical level. The following unusually "original" approach is even being offered to the president: In a "presidential republic," why should the prosecutor's office, the court, the legal profession, and the press not be subordinate to him and why not even "incorporate... democracy into the system of the presidency?"

Admittedly, such arguments ignore the fact that the central core of the presidential form of rule is the doctrine of the division of powers, which asserts that the function of the legislature is to elaborate laws while the function of the executive is to monitor their precise fulfillment. These powers are independent of one another but combine and cooperate creatively and do not seek to destroy each other—the laws do not allow that. Were such a thing to happen in the United States, for instance, the president would be removed and Congress would be recalled by the voters.

In France, Italy, even Germany, and many other countries the head of state is also the president. On the surface a presidential form of rule operates, but in fact governments are formed or instituted by the parliaments on the basis of party representation. So it is essential to straighten out the confusion which various "theoreticians' and "ideologists" are deliberately trying to foist on society. For them great upheavals and destruction are a way of life; creative work is foreign to them. For that you need intelligence, honesty, and an understanding of your historic responsibility to the fatherland.

Whatever form of power operates on the surface, the determining feature of a democratic state is representative power—a parliament. It is parliament that exercises legislative and control functions in all spheres. Its efficient working ensures stability in the state. Only we, with our typically "Soviet," authoritarian way of thinking, failed to find anything better for ourselves than on the day after the democratic forces' victory to turn our impatient gaze toward what was, by the way, a democratically and freely elected parliament and embark on its merciless destruction, thereby conditioning people's minds for the advent of the new messiah—a dictator.

We here are fond of citing the time-tested experience of American democracy. But it was the founding fathers of the U.S. Constitution who laid the foundations of mutual control by all three branches of power—the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. This principle is "disregarded" by some of our reformers who support the strengthening of the president's powers. Clearly no one has learned from the Gorbachev experience: As soon as the Union parliament was left powerless as a result of the "Gorbachev-Lukyanov" alliance, the power of the authorities and the power of the state as a whole disappeared. Long before August 1991 Gorbachev had lost virtually all power even though formally speaking he controlled everything under the law: the government, the Interior Ministry, the Army, the KGB, the banks, and so on and so forth. All this was reminiscent of a comic opera: Even in a semidemocratic society the real power of the state rests on the Constitution and the law as embodied in the parliament. If you want terror and dictatorship, get rid of the parliament and representative power.

History shows that events in the United States have led to a strengthening both of the power of the president as head of state and of the Congress. In Britain, parliament gradually won the right to control the monarch: The monarch "reigns" but does not govern the country. The different forms of rule have given rise to one common characteristic—developed parliamentary institutions safeguarding democracy and corresponding human rights and freedoms.

Life also shows that you cannot mechanically transfer power structures from one part of the world to another and expect them to have the same effectiveness.

That applies in particular to the Russian Federation—a Eurasian country with a unique history where the most complex set of problems has now developed: the choice of the Russian state system, the role of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet and the latter's powers; the Constitution as a universal law and its adoption; the separation of strategic and tactical questions of power; centers of tension and elements of conflict where the functions of power intersect; the precise vertical division of power—the federation, the region, the administrative-territorial formation (republic, kray, oblast), local authorities (city, rayon, village)—that is, the municipalization of the soviets—the military, commercial structures, the church... In short, we must study and research everything but must not copy blindly from others things which cannot be introduced into our distinctive Russian soil. Nor should we try to root out what has taken hold and has become part of the people's way of life.

The shortest path to the Russian constitutional-democratic model of social organization lies in Russia's historical experience and a critical analysis of the use of experience—the theory of the division of power tested over two centuries when the power of the state is strengthened via the horizontal and vertical division of power—precise vertical subordination and horizontal interdependence.

The mechanism of such a division leads to the creation of a strong system of power structures: the president and his apparatus; parliament and its apparatus; the government and its apparatus. This lends a certain stability to democratic society and strengthens the structure of the state and its central power, with substantial decentralization and considerable autonomy for the regions.

The balance of powers is established or upset by struggle and by time. A disproportionately strong parliamentary authority weakens the executive and the judiciary and reduces the independent press to a state of dependency. There are many mechanisms here. On the other hand, a strong presidential team can crush parliament and concentrate power in its own hands. This is where the mechanisms of support or restraint perfected by history come into play. There is budgetary control, cadre control, and legal control, the allocation of powers, the mechanisms for recalling deputies, an ethics commission...

The U.S. experience deserves attention. Every two years the composition of the House of Representatives is changed: Senators are elected for a 6-year term whereas one-third of senators are reelected every two years, which ensures a certain stability in the composition of that chamber, continuity in its activity, and professionalism.

It is important for us to see political differentiation in Russia in the conditions of the division of powers: what is happening in the right wing of society, in the left wing, in the center, how this manifests itself at congresses, in parliament, at rallies in the country, and in the press. This differentiation cannot be predicted: There are no powerful parties on the horizon. Parliament equally needs the professional growth of the center and at the same time a powerful constructive opposition—right and left wing.

In the republics and administrative-territorial formations of Russia the preconditions are developing for a democratic division of power and here, too, it is necessary to find a basis for switching the remnants of the totalitarian administrative system to a constitutional, democratic one. After all, the Marxist-Leninist concept of unity so deeply rooted in the present generation's consciousness and 70 years of experience of the practical activity of first secretaries has reinforced the anti-democratic spirit in the administrative-territorial formations far more powerfully than in the center, where an embryonic intelligentsia is undermining the foundations of totalitarianism more rapidly.

The provinces, I would note, are the place where the fate of Russia will be decided. After all, we are facing a national catastrophe now: The country is rapidly declining further than it has been before. The country's revival and recovery will begin in the regions when people see from many examples that in this place or that life has improved and people feel that they are in charge of their production unit and have straightened things out. Then we will understand what democracy can do for us if its foundations underpin the structures of power tried and tested by the world experience of government and divided horizontally and vertically.

The Russian parliament sees political common sense in the theory of the division of powers—a theory tested by many centuries of practice. Hence it is our task to base our behavior on the good legal sense of parliamentary legislation, whose implementation will lead to a strengthening of presidential, parliamentary, and government power and the formation of conditions for the work of independent courts and an independent press. The establishment of mechanisms for the separation of powers and interaction among the powers is, I repeat, the path to the creation of a great Russia.

And on this path we can see positive work being done in strengthening centrist principles in the process of forming a CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATIVE [federativnyy] STATE, whose strength lies in its legal basis. This aim is also served by the new draft Constitution examined at the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies, which also envisages a balance of rights in a system of mutual counterbalances, which will give the state system stability and preclude the possibility of the monopolization of power.

Regional Affairs

Chechen Wants Citizens Back From Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1407104592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1017 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] Moscow July 14—The Chechen Foreign Ministry addressed Azerbaijan's leaders with the demand that all citizens of the Chechen Republic participating in hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh on the side of the Azeri Army be recalled. Artur Umanskiy, assistant head of the Chechen Foreign Ministry, stated this in Stepanakert.

The Karabakh News Agency reports the statement of the representative of the Chechen Foreign Ministry says there is loss of life among fighting Chechens. Moreover, the Chechen Republic which adheres to the policy of active neutrality can be involved in the conflict. Umanskiy said that the participation of Chechen citizens in the Karabakh war has not been sanctioned by leaders of the Chechen Republic. What is more, it evoked a negative response of the Chechen Public.

The stand of the Chechen Foreign Ministry was expressed by Foreign Minister Shamir Beno during his visit in Azerbaijan's capital. The Chechen side hopes that Baku will reasonably approach the solution of this matter.

The Foreign Ministry of the Chechen Republic also declared that it is ready to act as a mediator in settling the Karabakh conflict by a peaceful way.

Krasnodar Wants State Border With Georgia

LD1407013192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Jul 92

[Text] According to the RIKA agency, the small soviet of the Krasnodar Kray Soviet has appealed to the Russian president and the parliament with the request to establish a state border of full value with Georgia during the summer and autumn of 1992. In particular, it is proposed to introduce a visa regime for entry and exit of persons who are not Russian citizens and also a strict customs control over import and export of goods. The appeal was signed by the chairman of the Krasnodar Kray Soviet.

Chelyabinsk Halts Payments to Federal Budget

LD1607094892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Report by correspondent S. Sergeyev, including recorded remarks by P.I. Sumin, chairman of Chelyabinsk Oblast Supreme Soviet; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Chelyabinsk Oblast has once again seen a sharp increase in the confrontation between the executive and legislative authorities.

Everything began when the last session of the oblast soviet decided to considerably reduce, from the second half of the year, its payments to the federal budget, and keep in the oblast 50 percent of all value added tax payments, all income from vodka and wine and vodka products, 100 percent of income tax from individuals, and one third of the tax on profits of enterprises, associations, and organizations. In essence, it declared financial war on the Russian Government and the Supreme Soviet.

[Sumin] We did this deliberately, and we will see it through. When there were two centers, union and republican, Chelyabinsk Oblast's payments both there and to Russia were less than the single republican center is taking from us this year.

[Sergeyev] The oblast's administration has expressed complete disagreement with the deputies' decision. A statement published in the local press has called the position of the oblast soviet dangerous, since it will lead to the destruction of Russia's statehood. At a session of the small soviet [malyy sovet] this morning, the protest by the oblast administration was not approved. It was decided to temporarily halt completely all payments to the central budget.

What about the people of Chelyabinsk? The majority of the population disapproves of this confrontation. They consider that it interferes in solving the everyday problems of this important Russian region more quickly and productively.

New Political Organization Formed in Baykal

LD1207155392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0255 GMT 11 Jul 92

[By Vladimir Khodiy, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Irkutsk, 11 July—In the Baykal region, the creation of a new political organization has been announced—the regional Christian-Democratic Union. Members of its organizational committee include people's deputies, clergymen, entrepreneurs, and journalists.

Some time ago local Christian Democrats denounced the intolerance, aggression, and megaphone demagoguery of their all- Russian leader Viktor Aksyuchits and left the movement headed by him. Setting themselves the goal of introducing Christian morality into politics, economics, and the system of state power, they declare their support for the reforms of the president and Government of Russia.

First Issue of Communist Paper Published in Komi

LD1307205992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1315 GMT 10 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar, 10 Jul—In the Republic of Komi today distribution began of the first issue of 'ZA VLAST NARODA' [FOR PEOPLE'S POWER], the newspaper of Communists and the "Working Russia" movement in the town of Syktyvkar. The supporters of the town's "Working Russia" movement are pinning great hopes on this paper and want to organize its regular publication in order to tell people about their aims and tasks, their appraisals of events happening in the Komi Republic, Russia, and the world, and about the work they are doing.

The leading article of the paper's first issue contains an appeal for unity to all those for whom "people's power, the power of the working people in the form of the soviets, is the only legitimate power reflecting the interests of the majority of the population," for whom the "main aim remains the building of a state which is just to everyone, and in which human rights and free development of the individual is of the highest value."

Military Plants in Samara To Produce Medicines

PM1607102992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Samara Defense Industry Developing Medicine Production"]

[Text] Aspirins, novocaine, paracetomol, and other very necessary medicines are going to be produced in Samara Oblast. As part of the conversion program, local military plants, the agricultural bank, and the "Farmatsiya" association have set up the "Samaramedprom" joint-stock company, which is planning to begin producing medicines at defense enterprises that have been vacated.

Debt Threatens St. Petersburg Business Production

LD1507175292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0420 GMT 13 Jul 92

["Excerpt" from the "News and Analysis" program by Denis Gurinskiy]

[Excerpts] Some 320 out of 400 St. Petersburg state enterprises are currently in the red because of mutual indebtedness. According to the statistics of the St. Peterburg board of the Russian Central Bank, the total sum of credits issued to the enterprises exceeded 87 billion rubles in July. This threatens to paralyze production at the majority of local enterprises by the end of the month.

Up to 90 percent of the debtors to the banks are strategic military industrial enterprises, whose indebtedness to the state has reached 55 billion rubles. Many St. Petersburg industrialists are looking forward to the inter-bank debt offsetting operation which should write off a part of it. However, according to Dmitriy Sergeyev, deputy mayor of St. Peterburg for the economic reform, this operation will only reduce this debt to 23 billion rubles, if that. In this situation, the Kirov and Izhorskiy works and other leading associations in the city have started appealing directly to the Russian Government to grant credits for a numbr of their programs.

St. Petersburg Deputy Mayor Dmitriy Sergeyev, chief of the headquarters for regulating the financial crisis of St. Petersburg industry, is fighting to retain local authority control over the work of these enterprises. He is trying to persuade the Yegor Gaydar cabinet to urgently allocate to the St. Petersburg mayor's office a federal credit of 100 billion rubles so as to decide on the spot how much to loan to whom. [passage omitted]

Kuban Reports Grain Harvest Problems

PM1507092492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Jul 92

["Vesti" newscast video report by S. Shcherbal]

[Text] The astrologers' predictions that this year, a leap year, will be a hard one seem to be coming true. For the arable farmer of Kuban, Russia's largest grain growing region, it has been the hardest in the past decade. The rain which started to pour down in May continued throughout June and stopped only in the first 10 days of July. The result has been that about 80 percent of the winter grain crops have become lodged, which considerably complicates the grain harvest. A considerable proportion of the crops have been struck by a root disease which greatly reduces the bread baking qualities of the wheat. And there has also been unprecedented hail. At any rate, old-timers cannot remember anything like it. In some rayons the hailstones were the size of pigeon's eggs and covered the ground with a layer up to 20 cm thick. Reports are already coming in from some rayons in the kray that harvest work is threatened with stoppage because of the shortage of fuel and lubricants. Nonetheless, despite all the troubles which have simultaneously descended on our heads, agricultural specialists assert that the harvest is sufficient for bread supplies. There is just one small point—it has to be brought in with minimal losses and preserved.

Domodedovo Opened to International Flights

LD1607011592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2020 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian Government has decided to open the Moscow airport of Domodedovo for international flights. The government has instructed the appropriate ministries to ensure in Domodedovo the implementation of border, customs, and public health inspection of passengers and aircraft making flights abroad.

Khasan Port Opened to Foreign Shipping

PM1607102792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Khasan Port Open to Foreign Vessels"]

[Text] Another port on Russia's Pacific coast has been opened to foreign ships. The port of Khasan in Posyeta Bay has been given that right. Roughly speaking, ships of 10,000-15,000 tonnes displacement will be allowed to tie up there. The opening of another port to foreign ships after Vladivostok will help the development of the Russian economy.

International Affairs

Council of Europe Delegation Ends Visit

LD1507224192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2009 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Trotsenko]

[Text] Kiev July 15 TASS—The question of Ukraine's membership of the Council of Europe (CE) will to a considerable extent depend on information about events in the republic collected by this international organization's delegation. The CE delegation consisted of the Turkish Foreign Minister, Hikmet Cetin and the current chairperson of the CE committee of ministers and the CE Secretary-General Catherine Lalumiere.

The delegation had meetings with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Ivan Plyushch and the Prime Minister Vitold Fokin. It acquainted itself with the pace of economic and political reforms and lawmaking activities of the Ukrainian Parliament.

According to Catherine Lalumiere, the delegation intends to visit five CIS member countries, which have expressed intention of joining the CE.

World Bank To Provide Assistance

LD1507143692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1217 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko]

[Text] Kiev July 15 TASS—The World Bank has agreed in principle to provide technical and financial help to Ukraine, according to a World Bank official who led a mission of experts to the republic.

The assistance programme, however, will not be a big one, William Mc Greevey told TASS.

For two weeks a mission of the World Bank stayed in Ukraine to study its economy, provide advice on ways to protect people socially and discuss mounting unemployment in the republic.

"We conducted research along 20 directions, including pensions, help to invalids, employment programmes, and young people's problems," mission head William Mc Greevey told TASS.

In order to allocate a stabilization fund for a country the World Bank requires a solid basis. This is what the mission was sent for, he said.

The key thing for Ukraine is to rely on its own resources, balance revenue and spending and raise additional resources for education and health programmes, he said.

Ukraine will need five years, or probably less, to resolve its current economic crisis. Much will depend on the government's efficiency, he said.

Ukrainian people should not expect a miracle from their government and every one should rely on his own ability, he said.

National Affairs

Formation of New Black Sea League Noted

LD1507140992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1148 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Stetsyuk for TASS]

[Text] Sevastopol July 15 TASS—A new Black Sea League uniting 13 regions and 19 cities in Ukraine was formed during a conference in Sevastopol, the new league's coordinating center.

Among the issues addressed by the Black Sea League are the creation of a free economic zone, the resolution of the region's ecological problems, the development of cultural contacts, and assistance to victims of the Chernobyl disaster.

Conference participants elected Ivan Yermakov, the Ukrainian Presidential representative in Sevastopol, to head the society.

Trade Unions Cancel 20 Jul Strike

LD1507155292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1154 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By UKRINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Kiev July 15 TASS—Three Ukrainian trade unions which threatened a strike on July 20 cancelled their decision after a meeting with top republican leaders on Wednesday [15 July].

President Leonid Kravchuk told representatives of the Civil Aviation, Coal-Mining and Railway Workers' Trade Unions, united in an independent organisation, that no strikes can be allowed even on a small part of the republic in the present-day economic crisis.

The president approved the composition of a government commission which is authorised to hold further talks with trade unions. [INTERFAX in English at 1833 GMT on 15 Jul 92 in a similar report adds: "A statement issued Wednesday by the Constitutional Council of Free Trade Unions also said that the free trade unions of Ukraine will hold a conference after the talks with the government. The unions will then make a final decision on whether to strike."]

The meeting was also attended by Prime Minister Vitold Fokin and Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch.

Fokin Visits Donbass Enterprises Coal Mine

LD1607011192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Report by correspondent G. Kondaurov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Vitold Fokin met with coal miners at the Gorkiy coal mine. This mine, which worked well even in recent difficult years when there were strikes, is now on the verge of financial collapse. Within the next few months, thousands of miners here may find themselves without a job. The customers are not paying for the coal that is being dispatched to them. The halt, to all intents and purposes, of reciprocal payments between Ukraine on the one hand, and Russia and other CIS states on the other, may, within the next few months, bring production to a standstill. The debts owed to Donbass enterprises amount to many billions of rubles.

The prime minister stated that a draft labor law has been prepared which will provide the miners with many benefits and advantages as people belonging to the most difficult profession. A government commission has been set up to consider the demands of the Independent Coal Miners' Trade Union and in particular the issue of a new pay agreement.

[Begin Fokin recording] I do not think that there will be a strike. [end recording]

Fokin To Consult Kravchuk on Political Future

PM1507134392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 3

[Anatoliy Polyakov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Vitold Fokin: No One will Bring These Two Great Peoples into Conflict"]

[Text] Kiev, 14 Jul—Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin made the above statement with reference to the Ukrainians and Russians during a meeting with voters in Kiev's Darnitskiy Rayon, where he used to run for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

As we know, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session which ended recently sharply criticized the government for failing to pursue energetic reform, bringing the economy to a critical state, and impoverishing the people. People's Deputy Vyacheslav Chornovil and Rukh deputies, in particular, demanded the immediate resignation of Vitold Fokin and his team. They blamed the premier for wanting to restore economic ties with Russia and for not breaking off friendly economic and political relations. During the meeting with voters he stressed that Russia and Ukraine have a common history, and he admitted honestly that the state of the Ukraine's economy is such that the republic cannot afford to put on airs and graces.

A few days ago the Supreme Soviet decided that the president must present a new government team. Fokin said that he would decide his own future after talking with Leonid Kravchuk. So far the president has favored only a realignment in the government and has been solidly behind Vitold Fokin.

Incidentally, according to the president, the government crisis has been inspired by certain political forces, but the government does not intend yielding to pressure.

People's Self-Defense Force Stirs Sentiment

PM1507151792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 3

[Vladimir Bogdanovskiy report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Who Is Calling People to the Barricades? This Time It Is UNSO [Ukrainian People's Self-Defense Forces]"]

[Text] Lvov, 14 Jul—Now it is not only ill-considered actions, but words which could lead to tragedy and bloodshed involving completely innocent people. On the streets of Lvov, citizens can now read the appeal of the Lvov kray command of UNSO (the Ukrainian People's Self-Defense Forces). The appeal unambiguously states that there is room in the Ukrainian People's Self-Defense Forces for those who consider themselves upholders of the glory of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, in whom the blood of rebels flows, those who prefer war and energetic action to ovine submissiveness and who consider it necessary to do their duty to their nation unswervingly and with discipline. These people should take guard and not allow Ukraine to be dismembered by foreigners or the betrayers of the nation. The appeal claims that UNSO fighters have already shown their worth in Crimea and the Dniester region but face no less daunting trials in Lugansk, the Transcarpathians, and other Ukrainian oblasts....

Crimeans have already expressed their view of the exploits of a detachment of Ukrainian self-defense forces and have asked that they be spared visits by "defenders" such as these. However, the oblast and Ukrainian leadership have not given a due assessment of these itinerants.

Byelarus

Russian Troops To Be Stationed in Byelarus

OW1507171792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Units of the Russian armed forces totalling approximately 30 thousand people will be stationed on the territory of Byelarus, a leading military adviser of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet S. Shushkevich, the head of the parliamentary commission on national security and a member of the Republican national security council Mechislav Grib declared in his exclusive interview with "IF" [INTERFAX]. According to Grib, units of strategic forces will constitute the majority of these formations which are to be transferred under Russian jurisdiction after a special Russian-Byelarussian military agreement is signed. It concerns only one out of four parts of a bilateral Russian-Byelarusian military agreement.

Grib also said that the document is supposed to contain agreements on principles of mutual technical support of the Russian armed forces stationed on the Byelarusian territory, on cooperation in training military staff for both republics, on the order of military service for the Russian servicemen in Byelarus. The bilateral military agreement with Russia, Grib noted, "will define the status of the Russian forces in Byelarus, develop conditions of their stationing there, establish the principles for solving all problems, and social issues connected with their temporary staying on the territory of our republic are among them".

The military adviser stressed that "as Russia is not able to receive and to deploy these forces on its territory this agreement will be in force over the so called "transition period" that is for about 7 years". Grib believes that this bilateral military agreement is not considered as entering a military union by Byelarus (what is strictly prohibited by legislative acts) because this draft document does not envisage "a possibility of waging joint military operations". So far Shushkevich's adviser does not exclude a possibility of revising Byelarusian attitude towards the CIS Treaty on collective security. "We shall not be able to oppose any aggressor alone by ourselves without the help of other CIS states", said the member of the republican security council.

In response to a question whether Byelarus can become a neutral non-nuclear state considering its geographical position, Grib said that irrespective of the economic dependence on Russia and Ukraine and several attempts "of the neighbors" to involve Byelarus into different military- political blocks "we shall be able to maintain neutrality".

Speaking on the position spoken out by Shushkevich at his meeting with the Romanian President Ion Iliescu and stating that Byelarus can guarantee non-involvement into the Dniester conflict of those Byelarusian forces subordinate to the republican Defense Ministry but not the Russian formations stationed in Byelarus, Grib said: "According to the legislative acts, redeployment of Russian forces in Byelarus can be accomplished only after coordination with the Byelarusian government but after an official transferring of the strategic forces under Russian jurisdiction which is to take place after signing of a bilateral agreement Russia apparently can independently bring the troops in Dniester". (Until now there were no statements on intentions of the Russian authorities to use the units mentioned by Grib with such an aim - "IF").

End of July the heads of Byelarusian and Russian governments are expected to meet in order to sign a bilateral military agreement. Governmental sources told "IF" that the Byelarusian delegation is scheduled to depart for Moscow on July 20.

Kebich: Republic Ready To Act as Peacemaker

LD1507121192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1140 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By BELTA correspondent Valentina Menshikova for TASS]

[Text] Minsk July 15 TASS—The Commonwealth of Independent States, despite all difficulties in its formation, is the only body which allows to somewhat coordinate an immense amount of problems in relations between former Soviet republics, according to Byelarussian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich.

Byelarus will continue market reforms and is interested in preserving the rouble zone, he said in a telephone conversation arranged by the "SOVETSKAYA BYELARUSSIYA" newspaper with its readers. However, Byelarus will have to introduce its own currency if it is forced to do so, Kebich was quoted as saying in the Wednesday edition of the newspaper.

The prime minister denouced military hostilities in former Soviet republics, saying the governments should adopt timely decisions to prevent conflicts from developing into a real war. Byelarus is ready to act as a peacemaker to solve the conflicts by political means, he added.

Shushkevich Proposes CSCE Office in Byelarus

LD1507012992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1542 GMT 14 Jul 92

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent Larisa Lazar]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Jul—Setting up a residence of the Secretariat of the CSCE High Commissioner for Ethnic Minorities on the territory of Byelarus will strengthen its international prestige, Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich believes. As is known, he made such a proposal at the recent conference of heads of CSCE member-states in Helsinki.

In an interview with a BELTA correspondent, the leader of the Byelarus parliament noted that the Byelarus Ministry of Foreign Affairs worked out sufficiently substantial arguments in favor of this idea. The republic holds sacred the Helsinki agreements and the Paris Charter, and there are not and will not be ethnic conflicts on its territory. Byelarus' proposal was received quite seriously. A final decision on this issue, however, is yet to be taken.

The head of the Byelarus parliament noted that fruitful conversations with U.S. President George Bush, Finnish leadership, and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl took place in Helsinki. At all meetings, both official and unofficial, Stanislav Shushkevich stressed, Byelarus was not an applicant but, rather, looked for possibilities to establish partnership links. Today, in order to implement the accords attained during these meetings, Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich left for the West to hold consultations with heads of a number of major banks.

Moldova

Defense, Security Ministers Reportedly Fired

LD1607155992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Chisinau July 16 TASS—Moldovan Minister of Defense Ion Costash and Minister of National Security Anatol Plugaru were relieved of their duties on Thursday [16 July], TASS learnt from trustworthy sources.

Council Approves Draft Accord With Russia

LD1607012792 Chisinau Radio Chisinau Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] A meeting of the Supreme Security Council was held today under the chairmanship of Moldovan President Mr. Mircea Snegur. It considered and approved the draft agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation on the main principles for a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the eastern areas of the Republic of Moldova.

The draft agreement is based on the accords that were reached by the presidents of the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Romania, and Ukraine in Istanbul on 25 June 1992 and also the striving by Moldova and Russia for the speediest possible final end to the bloodshed in this part of our republic by exclusively peaceful means, proceeding on the basis of the Republic of Moldova's right to ensure the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country.

The draft agreement envisages the creation of a unified coordinating group comprising representatives of the Republic of Moldova Defense Ministry, the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, and representatives of the leadership of militarized formations and associations for the purpose of strengthening the cease-fire, guaranteeing the withdrawal of heavy equipment and armaments to agreed positions, and separating the units and sub-units of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova, the republic Interior Ministry, and militarized formations of the left-bank area. It is envisaged that members of the quadripartite mixed commission of Moldova, Russia, Romania, and Ukraine and also its military observers will participate in this group as observers.

Under the draft agreement, mixed forces to uphold peace and law and order are being created on the basis of limited troop contingents of the Republic of Moldova Defense Ministry and the Russian Federation Defense Ministry attached to the unified coordinating group. They will be located in the disengagement zone between the opposing sides prior to the introduction, if need be, of international peacekeeping forces. It is planned to place groups of observers along the perimeter of the zone where armed forces are being withdrawn, the locations where combat equipment and armaments are being concentrated, and also at strategically important installations. The unified coordinating group and the mixed forces are entrusted with the functions of supervising compliance with the accord on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of combat equipment, armaments, and manpower to the lines agreed by the sides, guaranteeing the security regime in the conflict zone, and also investigating the circumstances of possible violations of the agreements reached and taking measures to restore peace and law and order and to prevent similar violations.

For the formation in the security zone on both sides of the lines of contact with the opposing sides, and the creation of the necessary conditions for the ensuing probable introduction there of international peacekeeping forces, the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation will ensure the withdrawal of armed formations to the positions and on the timetable agreed by the unified coordinating group. At the same time, for the purpose of demilitarizing the area of the armed conflict and ruling out the involvement of units and sub-units of the 14th Russian Army in actions at variance with their purpose, the draft agreement envisages ensuring total neutrality by the Russian Federation Defense Ministry.

It is also proposed that negotiations be started forthwith on the status of the 14th Army and that dates be set for its withdrawal to Russian territory.

State bodies of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation will act as guarantors to ensure that the cease-fire agreement is unconditionally observed by all forces that have been operating in the conflict zone, including its provisions on the withdrawal of military equipment, armaments, and manpower from the town of Bendery, except for the personnel of the town's police commissariat and Bendery's militia.

Both sides, the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation, will from the moment this agreement is signed assist the holding of the next meeting of foreign ministers of the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Romania, and Ukraine in the town of Chisinau before the end of July this year for the purpose of elaborating the legal basis and mechanism for bringing into the conflict zone, if needed, international peacekeeping forces, including military contingents from the countries involved in the peaceful settlement of the conflict. They will also request that the UN secretary general send to the Republic of Moldova the necessary number of UN peacekeeping force officers in order to provide international supervision and provide for the work of a unified command of peacekeeping forces. They will also invite CSCE representatives to take an active part in settling the conflict.

The countries involved in this agreement will immediately get down to negotiations on the economic restoration of the areas in the conflict zone and the creation of conditions for the return of refugees. They regard as impermissible the employment of economic sanctions and blockades, and they will undertake objectively and in a well- balanced way in the mass media to cover the process of the settlement of the armed conflict in the eastern areas of the Republic of Moldova. For this purpose, it is envisaged that a special press center will be created under the unified coordinating group.

The draft agreement between Moldova and Russia on the main principles for a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the eastern areas of the Republic of Moldova, which was approved by the Supreme Security Council, was today sent to the president of the Russian Federation. In his letter to Boris Yeltsin on this occasion, Moldovan President Mr. Mircea Snegur expressed the Moldovan side's readiness to discuss as soon as possible the time and venue for signing the final version of this document.

Official Urges Economic Ties With Russia

OW1507172092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The recent meeting in Chisinau between Russia's vice president Aleksandr Rutskoy and Moldovan leader Mircea Snegur does in itself carry a positive element, the president's aide Ceslav Cobanu said in an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX]. He was hopeful that the recent talks were not in vain and that something of substance would follow. The official said that there was no alternative to civilised dialogue.

Cobanu believes that all sides must be interested to see an early end to the bloodshed in Dniester since no one stands to gain apart from the extremists. He called for common language and common sense under any circumstances.

The policy is based on agreements but not emotions, said Cobanu, and agreements are struck on the basis of sensible compromise as evidenced by the meetings in Moscow and Istanbul by the Russian and Moldovan leaders. And he called for accent to be shifted from political to economic issues given that Russia had been Moldova's big trading partner of long standing. The official said his republic had greater export opportunities in Russia's huge market than in the West where it might be unwelcome. And he called for restoring economic contacts with Russia which were disrupted for various reasons, including artificial ones.

President's Snegur's aide said that the meetings between the Russian and Moldovan leaders and a recent CIS summit in Moscow had helped the sides to arrive at a conclusion that only by joint effort and restoring contacts, it was possible to count on economic stabilisation and overcoming the crisis.

Dniester Residents Refuse Positions in Government

LD1607100192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0800 GMT 16 Jul 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Dniester residents have decided not to delegate anyone from the representatives of the Dniester Republic for membership in the new government of Moldova until its status is determined within the framework of Moldova. As is known, official Chisinau offered the Dniester residents four minister appointments and one deputy minister post.

Kazakhstan

Suleymenov, Romanian Counterpart Hold Talks

AU1507195592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1525 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Alma Ata ROMPRES 15/7/1992—A protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Republic of Kazakhstan was signed in Alma Ata on Wednesday [15 July] by Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase and his counterpart Tolevtay Suleymenov. After the signing ceremony the two ministers held talks devoted to concrete aspects of the bilateral relations. Reference was made to certain cooperation projects which are to be negotiated in the following weeks. They also discussed about the future economic relations, about their framework. On the other hand the two ministers exchanged information and opinions about the evolutions in Romania and Kazakhstan.

On the same day Minister Adrian Nastase together with the representatives of the Ministry of Industry and of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, a group of businessmen had talks with Kazakhstan's minister of international economic relations. The Kazakh minister informed them about the economic possibilities of his country, underscoring that there were possibilities of collaboration with Romania. The Romanian foreign minister expressed his conviction that that visit would create the favourable framework for the development of substantial economic relations between the two countries.

KGB Reformulated Into Security Committee

LD1607021192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] The Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet adopted a law on the organs of national security. The republic's former KGB is, from now on, going to be called the Committee for National Security [CNS], reports RIKA. In the words of Lieutenant General Bolat Baykenov, head of the department, this is not simply a change of name. He stated that national security should, above all, mean the protection of society and the individual, and only after that, of state institutions. The general also reported on the compensation to families of staff at the department who have died while carrying out official duties. The extraordinary one-off payment will now be equal to the deceased's total salary for 10 years.

[IZVESTIYA on 15 July on page one of the morning edition in a similar report adds: "The NSC [National Security Committee] will report to the president and be subordinate to the republic's Supreme Soviet. There will be prosecutorial oversight of it, and financial control will be implemented by the Finance Ministry.

["Kazakhstan also intends to set up its own foreign intelligence network."]

Impact of Fuel Shortages on Harvest Detailed

LD1107220992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Jul 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We are receiving worrisome news from the agricultural regions. The fodder harvesting season in the Altay region came to a halt today due to the shortage of gasoline and diesel fuel. An extraordinary situation has evolved in harvesting in the Dzhambul Oblast [south Kazakhstan]. At certain times of the day up to one-third of motor vehicles and combine harvesters in the fields stay idle due to mass interruptions with fuel supplies.

Agreement Signed With Russia on Fuel Projects

LD1507205992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] The Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet has ratified the agreement on the basic principles and terms of relations between Kazakhstan and Russia in the extraction, refining, and transportation of oil and gas, RIKA reports. The agreement was signed in Uralsk on 23 March. This document came about because Kazakhstan sends most of its crude oil, extracted from the Mangyshlak peninsula, to Russia for refining. The republic's two oil refinery works—Pavlodar and Chimkent—operate on west Siberian hydrocarbon raw materials.

Cabinet Discusses Economy, Health Issues

LD1607061992 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] As already reported, an extended session of the Cabinet of Ministers has been held under the chairmanship of President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Apart from questions on the results of the performance of the national economy, the execution of the republican budget in the first six months, and specific steps for the stabilization of the economy in the second six months of 1992, it also examined urgent measures for improving the health system in conditions of the transition to a market.

In a report by Health Minister Devyatkov, and speeches by participants in the session, it was noted that serious difficulties in providing the population and treatment and preventive-care establishments with medicinal preparations and medical equipment had arisen during the period of transition. Commencing from 1993, the financing of the branch will be carried out in accordance with the per-capita norm. In the period until 1 September it is proposed to free retail prices on all kinds of medicines and articles for medical use. In all oblasts of the republic, in the course of 1993-1995, it is planned to organize diagnosis centers with boarding facilities, to expand the list of paid medical services, and other types of entrepreneurial activity which do not infringe upon legislation.

The results of the extended session were summed up by President Nursultan Nazarbayev. He noted, among other things, that the protection of the health of the population is due to become a subject of particular concern among heads at all levels, and expressed confidence that the measures planned by the Cabinet of Ministers would be implemented in good time.

Taking part in the session's work were Supreme Soviet Chairman Abdildin, Prime Minister Tereshchenko, heads of administration, and health leaders of the republic's oblasts.

Cabinet Worried About Money Supply Shortage

OW1507180792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister Sergey Tereschenko speaking at a cabinet meeting on Tuesday [14 July] warned against what he described as "regional selfishness". As an example, he quoted meat and butter prices in Alma Ata which were Rbl [ruble] 90 and Rbl 200 per kilo respectively at a time when these were sold three or four times cheaper locally.

Tereschenko said that although the situation with tax revenues had improved, the Rbl 30 bln [billion] that the government raised from factories and taxpayers would not able to resolve the problem of short money supply. He said his vice-premier Daulet Simbayev left for Moscow on Wednesday [15 July] to discuss the issue there.

For his part, one of the officials of the Bank of Kazakhstan, Kanat Bainazarov, complained about having to look for alternative forms of account-settling now that factories of the former Soviet Union were all engaged in defaulting on their debt. He promised that the government would try to sort out the problem of cash paymment to the population later this month. Bainazarov also said Moscow should have remitted Rbl 14 bln by Wednesday, with a total of Rbl 17 bln to be supplied by the end of this month.

The cabinet did not think it was normal that money circulation ran at a mere 32% at a time when the republic had a stock of wares worth of Rbl 32 bln. President Nazarbayev - now on leave-had backed up Bainazarov's proposal for introducing an I-O-Y system of account-settling. A relevant government regulation has been worked out and a seminar on this subject is due to be held soon for ministry and department employees.

Introduction of New Currency Planned

LD1607054592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0534 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By Viktor Petrenko, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—Kazakhstan will introduce its own currency in the near future which will circulate together with the ruble at the first stage, according to president of the International Asian-Kazakh Fund.

The currency is expected to be called "tumen" and will be convertible. Its exchange rate will equal that of the German mark, Askar Dairabayev told TASS on Thursday [16 July].

A group of experts, including Russian specialists, is working on the project at present. The new currency is to be introduced by phases to avoid breaking indutrial ties with other states of the ruble zone, he said.

The first stage, when two currencies will be accepted in the republic, will last for six-thirteen months. During the second stage the ruble will be exchanged according to the rate quoted by the National Bank of Kazakhstan, Dairabayev said, but did not disclose when the first stage is expected to begin.

Tajikistan

Nabiyev on Yeltsin Talks, Borders, Opposition

OW1507174192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking about his foreign visits and the CIS Moscow summit at yesterday's cabinet meeting in Dushanbe, President Rakhman Nabiyev said he had had a "fairly long conversation with Boris Yeltsin," in the course of which they discussed, in particular, the protection of the Tajik-Afghan border, one of the subjects being the composition of border troops.

Nabiyev was particularly concerned about the fact that the numerical strength of the troops guarding Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan was merely 40% of what was needed. He appreciated the Russian President's willingness to help Tajikistan in this way and give it material, technical, and financial assistance in general.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Yesterday an unofficial Tajik delegation led by Prime Minister Akbar Mirzoyev left for Kabul to discuss with the Afghan government illegal crossings of the Tajik border by Afghan commandos, who, among other things, are selling weapons in Tajikistan. Mirzoyev will be making efforts to put an end to such sales and is going to promise that none of the Tajik citizens returning home from Afghanistan voluntarily and unarmed will be prosecuted or in any way discriminated against. However, a high-ranking commanding officer in the Central Asian Border Guard District, Anatoliy Martovitsky, and the deputy chairman of the Islamic Renaissance Party, Dovlat Usmon, have doubts about the success of the mission since the delegation does not include a single border guard officer or member of the Islamic Renaissance Party.

Nabiyev said he and Yeltsin had had a detailed and constructive discussion on various aspects of preparation work for a comprehensive bilateral treaty between Tajikistan and Russia. Both presidents were positive that the work should be speeded up, especially since Tajikistan is the only republic of the former USSR with which Russia has no such treaty.

Nabiyev highly appreciated Yeltsin's promise to give Tajikistan extensive assistance and support in surmounting its economic and political crisis, including mediation between different political forces.

Our correspondent in Dushanbe reports that the cabinet meeting, also attended by members of the parliament presidium, chairpersons of the executive committees of regional and town councils of people's deputies, leaders of political parties and movements and of cultural and ethnic communities, clearly showed confrontation between the supporters of the former communist regime and government, on the one hand, and opposition members who joined the cabinet after the well-known events of last April and May, on the other.

Thus, Nabiyev gave a negative appraisal of the work of the ministries and departments headed by opposition members, in particular the radio and TV, and the Agriculture Ministry. Some observers see this as a significant fact. The President made it clear that he was not going to stay in the same government with them, and that either they or he would have to resign. To this Interior Minister Mamadayez Navjuvanov replied that the present meeting was very much like the parliament session at which he had been given a "public drubbing." "If anyone should resign at all," Navjuvanov said, "the President himself should be the first one to do so. Then everybody else will go, and then we'll see what kind of government the people will form."

Observers think the meeting might set off a new wave of political instability in the republic and serve to further aggravate the crisis in the power structures.

Nabiyev Blames Opposition for Economic Slump

PM1507100892 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Rakhmon Nabiyev, president of Tajikistan, by Anatoliy Ladin under the rubric "Visiting Card"; date and place not given: "This Power Struggle Is Humiliating"—first two paragraphs are unattributed biographical sketch]

[Text] Rakhmon Nabiyev was elected president of Tajikistan on 24 November 1991. His career includes more than 30 years of work in agriculture—from tally clerk to republic minister. He was head of the Tajik Communist Party for three years.

Rakhmon Nabiyev is 61 and married, with three children and two grandchildren.

[Ladin] After the May events in Dushanbe, which culminated in the formation of a government of national consensus, the impression was that Tajikistan had finally moved on from confrontation between opposing parties to a developing process based on the principles of consensus. However, we can now see that things took an entirely different turn. The confrontation spread from the republic capital to provincial regions and became focused in particular hotbeds of tension. In a number of places the legitimate organs of power are paralyzed. How do you explain this turn of events?

[Nabiyev] When the participants in the rallies in Shakhidon Square and Ozodi Square left Dushanbe, they promised not to return to the points at issue, at least in the immediate future. As president I hoped we would be able, on the basis of a mutual interest in calm and stability, to begin implementing a series of priority economic problems aimed at social protection of the population. After all, the political confrontation was and is acting literally with a destructive force beyond that of any natural disaster, although nature also has not spared our state this year.

Rallies going on for days on end, distracting thousands of people from their work in both industry and agriculture, were a major setback for Tajikistan. In effect the government was unable to implement emergency measures aimed at filling the trade network with goods in wide demand. I had planned at the end of last year to make a series of trips to countries in the Near and Middle East and Southeast Asia with a view to concluding advantageous agreements on bilateral cooperation. We have more than 10 interesting proposals from foreign partners offering the possibility of joint exploitation of natural resources, the development of processing sectors in light industry, and the creation of the foundations of a future tourist industry. All this requires in-depth analysis by the government and experts. However, there is simply no opportunity to get on with this work. What am I forced to concern myself with today, as head of state? Reconciling the supporters and opponents of political and economic reforms. Each side seeks to blame the president for the deterioration in the situation in society, trying in every way to present its own actions in a good light, even if those actions are far from constructive.

[Ladin] But no government in the CIS is exempt from opposition today....

[Nabiyev] It is possible to endure any criticism against oneself if it serves the cause, helps improve the people's life, and leads to civil accord in society. In that sense I am in favor of a healthy opposition. It is something else that perplexes me: the stance of certain political leaders and mass media who are trying openly to conduct something resembling a new election campaign when there is a lawfully elected and active president. Obviously, this can only be assessed as elementary ignorance.

Something else is also worrying. We have proclaimed that we will build a democratic state, we are taking concrete practical steps in this direction, yet people, observing the actions of an opposition that draws on democratic slogans, are going, without a plan, into opposition to democracy and democratic processes.

You will, of course, ask: How can the government operate in such conditions? Is it upholding the president's honor and dignity, is it clamping down on attempts by ill-wishers to discredit the presidential authority?

[Ladin] Yes, I was going to ask....

[Nabiyev] The government had no time to gain experience, it had not learned to uphold its positions firmly and to tackle strategic and current problems aggressively and confidently. Here I am talking about the government as it was constituted prior to the May events. Now representatives of the opposition have been given a number of ministerial portfolios. Just over a month has passed since the new members of government were appointed. However, I would not say there have been any marked changes for the better in the top echelons of power. Maybe those unsure, insufficiently confident actions by the government had an influence on the negative processes that have recently really swept through certain regions of the republic. The lack of powerful authority from the government was sensed not only by leaders at oblast and rayon level, but also by certain members of our society who are not notably law-abiding. These people did not respond to the presidential decree calling for the voluntary surrender of arms. Locally, the authorities were unable to ensure the disarmament both of armed groups and of individual citizens into whose hands assault rifles, grenades, and pistols had fallen by one means or another.

[Ladin] Moreover, here too, as I understand it, there have been attempts to put the blame on the head of state....

[Nabiyev] Anyone who says that I, the president, explain my position too infrequently in the mass media is lying. Every time I address the people of Tajikistan I talk about the need for peace and accord, especially at the moment. However, this policy does not suit certain ringleaders. They still think that the power struggle is not over, or to put it more bluntly: that their arrogant personal ambition has not yet been fully satisfied. They start whipping up a new spiral of confrontation. They start looking for new defects in the president's policy. These people do not care that the republic is sliding rapidly toward an abyss of hopeless poverty, that the people's suffering is nearing dangerous limits. What do they care about that? Their aim is not to give the president and the government of national consensus a breathing space, not to allow the stabilization process to take root. If peace and tranquillity were established in Tajikistan, if only for a year, the people would, without fail, experience changes for the better. This exhausting and unproductive power struggle is impoverishing and humiliating to us all.

[Ladin] One hears it said today, in ordinary conversations, that the warring factions should recognize the complexity of the situation in the republic's economy, that next winter, unless preparations are made, promises to turn into a nationwide tragedy for Tajikistan....

[Nabiyev] That is true. Believe me, I am carefully monitoring all the processes developing in all sectors of our economy. The immediate adoption of radical decisions is needed everywhere. However, for the moment, these decisions cannot be implemented, because the necessary legal base is lacking. As you know, the Supreme Soviet's work is paralyzed. Naturally, the absence of laws—particularly those laws that stimulate market relations, offer freedom to entrepreneurialism, and open up prospects for cooperation with foreign investors—is delaying the implementation of programs to promote the republic's economic recovery.

I could cite the following facts to illustrate the economic situation. In the first five months of this year, 67 percent of the republic's enterprises failed to reach a level corresponding to the same period last year. There was a shortfall of output amounting to 7.5 billion rubles [R]. The income side of the budget is not being fulfilled. The plan envisages a budget income of R10.2 billion, but only R5.5 billion was received.

Here the pernicious role played in the past months by long-drawn-out rallies is plain to see. In Dushanbe the level of production fell 23.8 percent compared with the first five months of last year.

I think you can now see that for all of us who live in Tajikistan, it is an impermissible luxury to waste time on showdowns and protracted fratricidal conflicts. We must roll up our sleeves and all get down to work together.

[Ladin] In the context of the economic difficulties the republic is experiencing, it will probably not be easy to resolve the problem of Tajikistan's creating its own armed forces. Especially since this problem is also becoming confrontational.

[Nabiyev] The army question must certainly be resolved. It is also clear that sovereign Tajikistan is entitled to have its own armed forces. Howerever, some "new wave" leaders, reluctant to burden themselves with the simplest economic calculations, demand that all the units and institutions located in Tajikistan be taken immediately under the republic's jurisdiction. Even by the most modest calculations, the expenses of maintaining the army run to several billions rubles. In addition, prices are increasing daily. Where are we to get the extra resources? If we are forced to take such a rash step, we will have to find the funds by cutting back resources for education, medicine, culture, and science. So should people be burdened with new expenditure?

[Ladin] What do you propose?

[Nabiyev] Another approach seems possible to me: the phased creation of our own armed forces. To begin with, we could conclude a treaty with Russia for joint maintenance and dual jurisdiction over troops stationed in the republic. Prepare the necessary legislative base to make provision for the army's existence, study the military-political problems, train cadres for the future Tajik armed forces. I think the initiative on opening a multidisciplinary military college in the republic merits attention.

We must not only study more carefully the experience of the neighboring CIS states, but also pay heed to what is being done in the military sphere in more distant countries. Incidentally, the NATO leadership recently invited a representative of the republic Defense Committee to a seminar in Brussels. We will make use of such opportunities to expand our contacts in the military sphere. While at the same time strictly complying with the Treaty on Collective Security between six CIS states, which we signed.

We should not hurry when it comes to questions of creating our own army. We have always been and still are in a close alliance with Russia and its people. I see this as the main guarantee of Tajikistan's security. A treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between our independent states will be signed in the very near future. I see this forthcoming political act as another important factor for achieving peace and accord in the republic. I believe Tajikistan will embark on a constructive path. All our people want this. I too pursue that goal, as president of the republic.

Agreements With Iran, Pakistan Examined

MK1507095192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jul 92 p 3

[Interview with Tajik External Relations Minister Khudoberdi Kholiknazarov by Oleg Panfilov under the "Diplomacy" rubric; place and date not given: "Dushanbe Has Acquired Prospects in East. External Relations Minister Khudoberdi Kholiknazarov on President Rakhmon Nabiyev's Visit to Tehran and Islamabad"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Khudoberdi Kholiknazarov is 41 years old, a candidate of historical sciences, and a specialist in the history of Iran at the end of the 19th century and is fluent in Farsi, Russian, and English. He was appointed minister of external relations of the Republic of Tajikistan by presidential decree 11 May this year.

[Kholiknazarov] First, I must note the high standard of the reception accorded to our delegation. In Tehran we managed to get the Iranian side to agree to allocate Tajikistan credit of $50 million. True, they refused a direct payment of currency, but they offered to construct enterprises in our republic and to pass on technology, for example, for the construction of plants to process fruit and vegetables and to produce modern packaging. We secured a deferment in the payment of credit by three years instead of one under the former agreement and agreed in principle on the setting up of joint ventures. In all, five documents were signed: a memorandum on friendship and cooperation, protocols on cultural, economic, technical, and scientific ties, and an agreement on diplomatic services.

[Panfilov] Yes, but in the direct sense of the word there is no actual direction....

[Kholiknazarov] The protocol on scientific and technical cooperation points out that a direct air link between Tehran and Dushanbe is to be set up without delay. The Iranians even agreed to refuel our aircraft for free and are ready to lease one aircraft of our airline with the crew to make charter flights from Iran to Tajikistan. We agreed in principle on the construction of a railroad between Mashhad (in Iran), Herat, Mazar-e Sharif, and Qonduz to Badakhshan in Afghanistan. Via Qonduz it is possible to reach the Lower Pyandzh in Tajikistan and, via Faizabad—the Gorno-Badakhshan Republic. If these agreements are fulfilled, great success awaits us.

[Panfilov] What were the results of the visit to Pakistan?

[Kholiknazarov] An accord had been reached earlier on Pakistan's participation in subsidizing construction of the Rogun Hydroelectric Power Station to the tune of $500 million. After this, Pakistan will be able to obtain electricity from Tajikistan. Documents similar to the Iranian ones were also signed. However, primarily, we decided to set up a commission for the construction of a highway which will link Pakistan with Tajik Badakhshan. In a few days' time the Pakistani side is sending a special group by helicopter to the regions of Chatral and Gillit to inspect the route of the future road and to survey the terrain. Joint work will then begin: The most difficult section is there—it will be possible to surmount it in six months through a 30km-long narrow corridor of Afghan territory, while on Pakistani territory there are old paths and passes, which only have to be widened.

[Panfilov] This is, in principle, a new strategic road in Central Asia, is it not?

[Kholiknazarov] Yes. This road will be of very great importance. It will be far easier for us to reach the ocean and to restore the ancient "Silk Road."

[Panfilov] Many mass media are now speaking of the possible influence of Iranian "fundamentalism." Has anything new appeared in your understanding of this problem following your visit?

[Kholiknazarov] We visited many plants and establishments where Iranian women work. Yes, they are dressed according to the sharia, but they work where they wish, have all rights equal with men, their faces are uncovered, and they wear fashionable eyeglasses and clothes that are just as good as those in Europe.... In Tajikistan there really is a great deal of exaggeration of the rumors about oppression of women in Iran. However, if you take a broader look at this problem from realistic positions, you can see that in the Islamic world the woman is freer than in Tajikistan itself. In our country she is still a working person, working in plants, doing all the housework, bringing up children, and running to the stores and the markets. In Iran, women work as they want to, they are socially protected and active, and they engage in political life.

[Panfilov] To what extent, in your opinion, is it possible to accept Iran's contemporary ideology in restoring the traditional principles of morality in Tajikistan?

[Kholiknazarov] I consider this a very complex problem, because to some extent, society in Iran is homogeneous and has a single ideology, while we do not have this. Many groups and parties are now operating in Tajikistan with different views and values, and a very complex process of development is taking place.

[Panfilov] Does this mean that religion in Tajikistan will occupy a significant place in the ideological space?

[Kholiknazarov] It is too difficult to speak about this, because there is no analysis. Unfortunately, we do not conduct research into political events, and processes are interpreted at a low level. Islam has many values—social justice and moral foundations.

I believe that in contemporary life we must not get far away from them and use, instead, the principles which we have been able to acquire over the past 70 years-....[sentence as published]

Activity Noted on Tajik-Afghan Border

PM1507160592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 92 p 1

[U. Bakhanov report: "'Open House Night' on Afghan Border"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The night before last was an "open house night" on the Tajik-Afghan border: Several armed groups simultaneously tried to cross the border in both directions.

The first group tried to break through onto the territory of the Tajik state from Afghanistan at 2250 hours. Shots were fired while the intruders were being detained. As a result, two of the intruders, who turned out to be citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan, were killed. When examined, they were discovered to have two Kalashnikov automatic rifles, a Degtyarev machinegun, some F-1 grenades, and seven boxes of ammunition. Two hours later eight people who were trying to leave in the opposite direction—to Afghanistan—were detained in the same area. They turned out to have $130 as well as a letter of recommendation to the field commanders of the Afghan mujahidin with the seal of the main mosque of the Tajik city of Kolkhozabad. The letter requested that all possible disinterested aid be given to the coreligionists from fraternal Tajikistan. The alarm was raised again at around 0200 hours at the same border post on the Pyandzh River. Two Tajik citizens returning with a cargo of "disinterested aid"—two automatic rifles and magazines for them—were detained. Finally, the last violation: Two Afghans were detained with a consignment of drugs the same night on the territory of the Khorogskiy border detachment.

That was the kind of night it was—actually, it was not much more alarming than the previous nights. In the past two months alone the following has been seized on the territory of the Pyandzhskiy and Moskovskiy border detachments from Tajik citizens illegally crossing the border: 41 Kalashnikov improved assault rifles, 163 grenades, four machineguns, seven hand-held grenade launchers, a British "bur" [as published] rifle, 19 mines, 11 pistols, three Shpagin submachine guns, 17,000 cartridges, and five Japanese portable radio sets.

According to the Tajik border guards' operations data, there are over 140 citizens from the Tajik republic on the territory of neighboring Afghanistan today.

Uzbekistan

Karimov on Future Relations With Russia

OW1407185792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 14 Jul 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In accepting the credentials from the newly appointed Russian ambassador in Tashkent this Monday [13 July], President Karimov reiterated the need for close cooperation and development of mutual understanding between Uzbekistan and Russia.

In answering the journalists' questions after the introduction ceremony, the new Russian Ambassador to Uzbekistan, Fedor Sidorovskiy, corroborated with the Uzbek president as regards as his primary objectives at the new post. He said he was viewing them as a need to capitalize on the "positive potential" which had accrued in the relations between Russia and Uzbekistan, admitting that it has almost been neglected following the collapse of the USSR.

In his opinion, "it is vitally important to revamp the bonds which have been impaired". The Russian ambassador also noted that he had been impressed with the Uzbek president. In the words of Ambassador Sidorovskiy, Islam Karimov is an remarkable person who is trying to do his utmost to insure the development of Uzbekistan as a sovereign state, and that the people, regardless of their nationality, religion, and political convictions would enjoy their life in the republic.

Supreme Soviet Institutes Legal Reforms

LD1507163392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] A military collegium has been set up within the Uzbek Supreme Court by a resolution of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet. It will consider criminal cases of exceptional importance in the first instance, as well as cases of a constitutional and international nature, the NEGA news agency reports. By another resolution of the Uzbek parliament, the Supreme Court has been given powers to revise decisions by the USSR Supreme Court with regard to Uzbek citizens who have committed crimes in the republic. The resolution particularly singles out cases between 1985-1989, when many high-ranking Uzbek officials were sentenced for bribery and corruption. Many of these cases have already been reviewed, NEGA notes.

Government Issues Decree Raising Food Prices

OW1507210092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1833 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Uzbek government has today (July 15) decided to raise from tomorrow the maximum prices for some kinds of foodstuffs.

Bread, flour, macaroni, rice, tea, sugar, meat, milk, eggs, and oil are to go up by 50-100%. Thus, a loaf of rye bread will go up from 2.50 to 5 rubles, one kilogram of meat, from 45 to 60 rubles, one liter of milk, from 2.50 to 4 rubles.

The government decree says the measure has been made necessary by considerable increases in the prices of food brought into Uzbekistan from other republics.

Armenia

Armenian, NKR Delegations Not To Attend Talks

NC1507183092 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Christian Berk Stepanyan, director of the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' European Office and head of the Armenian delegation to the Rome meetings, has said that the members of the Armenian and NKR [Nagorno-Karabakh Republic] delegations to the Rome meetings will not arrive in Rome on 15 July. Stepanyan said that the organizers of the Rome meeting have not taken into consideration Azerbaijan's aggression against the NKR and that they do not want to give status to the delegation from Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh].

This approach has made the Rome talks invalid and created a great deal of doubt regarding the validity of the Minsk conference. This is a lawful decision. Armenian and NKR participation in the talks when Azerbaijan is continuing its aggression and occupying part of NKR territory would be useless. Leading officials and [word indistinct] nationalists in Azerbaijan do not intend to give up their plans to occupy Nagorno-Karabakh and put it under Azerbaijani sovereignty forever. Even if they take part in international meetings on the dispute, they do not intend to relinquish their objectives, a sentiment that has been confirmed by recent developments.

Clashes took place in the region during the past two days. An exchange of fire took place between the Askeranskiy and Agdamskiy Rayons on the night of 13 July and the next day. No reliable information has been received on casualties.

Armenian self-defense forces in Mardakertskiy Rayon are in control of all residential areas and hills that border the towns of (Vagukhas), (Khrumbon), and [name indistinct].

Nothing has changed in Armenia's border with Azerbaijan; the situation remains tense, as has been the case for the past few days. The Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs has disclosed that Kapan was hit with an intense volley of Alazan missiles and Grad rockets on 13 July. A number of peaceful residents were killed or wounded, and the city was damaged. The Armenian side was forced to take retaliatory measures.

The enemy side is continually firing on Armenia's Gorisskiy and [name indistinct] Rayons, which border Azerbaijan. Several towns in these rayons, including Yeraskhavan, were hit with fire from the neighboring republic last night. Yeraskhavan is on the border between Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

Although the situation in the other Armenian rayons is tense, no serious exchanges of gunfire or violent clashes has occurred. In general, however, the situation is tense. Azerbaijani officials continue to maintain their policy of aggression.

Yerevan Radio Reports Military Gains

NC1507153292 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Optimistic reports are coming from Nagorno-Karabakh. NAGORNO-KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY reports that early on 15 July, the Armenian self-defense detachments dislodged Azerbaijani occupation troops from Sarsang hydroelectric dam in Mardakertskiy Rayon and took control of the important installation. Preliminary reports say the Azerbaijanis have inflicted substantial damage on the site.

Getavan, in the same rayon and which had been occupied by the Azerbaijanis, was also liberated on the morning of 15 July. The Azerbaijani Army units retreated, having lost a lot of men and material. One freedom fighter was killed and two were missing from the Armenian side. The military operations in Mardakertskiy Rayon were continuing at 1400 today.

On the evening of 14 July, Armenian detachments discovered and took control of a large Azerbaijani Army ammunition dump in Nakhichevanik in Askeranskiy Rayon. Confirmed reports say two village residents were killed and 10 wounded during an air raid on Noragyug in the same rayon.

According to reports received this afternoon, the situation in Armenia's border regions was peaceful. As yet unconfirmed reports say the situation is tense in Tavushskiy Rayon.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1424 GMT adds the following in a report by an AZERINFORM correspondent for TASS datelined Baku: "Armenian Armed Forces have stepped up their operations along practically all the Azerbaijani-Armenian border, as well as in the mountain area of Karabakh and adjoining regions. According to information received from the republic's Defense Ministry and news received from the 'hot' spots by the AZERINFORM correspondent, population centers of Zangelanskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan, today came under massive shelling by various types of weapons from Armenian territory. According to preliminary information, there is damage, and information on killed and wounded is being clarified. In Agderinskiy Rayon in the mountain area of Karabakh, units of the Armenian military expeditionary force mounted an attack on the villages of Garayatag and Gyulyatag. The attack was repulsed by the efforts of units of the Azerbaijan Armed Forces and local self-defense forces, and the enemy was forced to pull back to their initial positions after suffering losses. At the same time, Armenian armed formations shelled the village of Galaychylar, Agdamskiy Rayon, causing much damage."]

President Forms Commission for Russian Talks

OW1507171192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The state minister, Grigoriy Areshian, has been put in charge of a permanent Armenian delegation for bilateral talks with Russia set up by President Ter-Petrosyan. The sides are expected to discuss ways of widening bilateral economic contacts at sessions by the working groups and during negotiations.

Areshian told IF [INTERFAX] that the 31-member delegation comprising people from all walks of life is due to meet soon to discuss the agenda of forthcoming talks with the Russian side. He did not rule out the possibility of negotiations starting later this month or early next, depending on how soon the necessary papers were ready. The working groups are expected to meet three times a year at least.

On the recent incident involving Russian servicemen in the town of Gyumri (formerly Leninakan) which would also be raised at the coming talks, the Armenian official said preliminary findings would be available in the next few days. The minister said that agreements must be signed to prevent such incidents from happening again.

President, British Envoy View Karabakh, Ties

NC1507054192 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received British Ambassador to Russia Sir Brian Fall on 14 July. The ambassador will henceforth represent his country in Armenia.

While receiving the ambassador's credentials and his (?pledge) that he will work to consolidate friendly relations, the president said that Armenia will do everything to expand existing relations.

Later, during a brief conversation, Ter-Petrosyan outlined his views on the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. He sees a solution within the framework of the CSCE, but said this requires that stability and a cease-fire be guaranteed. Without these steps, it is hard to imagine rebuilding Armenia's economy and [words indistinct] democratic system.

Agreeing with the president, Fall said he sees no obstacles to strengthened relations between Britain and Armenia. These relations were established even before Armenia's declaration of independence, when Britain organized relief for Armenia soon after the 1988 earthquake.

It was also noted that thanks to the efforts of the Armenian charge d'affaires in Britain, experts from both sides will soon begin work in Armenia to develop bilateral relations.

Zhirayr Libarityan, adviser to the Armenian president, and other officials were present at the meeting.

Industry Minister Arrives in Syria for Visit

NC1607040792 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1650 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] The Syrian news agency SANA reported that an Armenian delegation lead by Armenian Industry Minister Ashot Safaryan arrived in Damascus on 14 July for a four-day visit.

Syrian Industry Minister Dr. Ahmad Nizam-al-Din received the guests at Damascus Airport.

Safaryan told SANA correspondents that the aim of the visit is to broaden bilateral cooperation, the bases of which were laid down by Presidents Ter-Petrosyan and Hafiz al-Asad. The minister noted the importance of bilateral barter trade and said he hopes that bilateral economic ties will increase.

Supreme Soviet Session, Decisions Reported

NC1507200592 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1650 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Report by Manuk Ter-Stepanyan on the 15 July Armenian Supreme Soviet session—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Ter-Stepanyan] During its morning session today, the Armenian Supreme Soviet continued discussing the draft socioeconomic program and state budget for the second quarter of 1992. Following a statement by Tigran Sargsyan, chairman of Supreme Soviet's Finance, Credit, and Budget Commission, the government's draft budget was put to a vote and endorsed.

The parliament then debated a report prepared by the interim parliamentary commission on the situation on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border regions. The report was presented by the commission's chairman, Vazgen Manukyan. The deputies suggested that the parliament meet in a closed session to discuss the issue.

This is what Manukyan said after the session:

[Manukyan] The commission dealt with a comprehensive program, that is, in addition to defense issues we also studied the economic situation and border area's socioeconomic problems. An important conclusion was that—and one could reach this conclusion without the aid of the study—the combat situation in 18 regions affect the rest of Armenia; the military situation not only concerns these regions but our entire republic and its future. In our report, we mentioned the important shortcomings, such as the policy that stalled the army's formation. The republic's morale and political situation is not helping create an army. A call should be issued to mobilize all efforts for the army and defense [words indistinct].

We also discussed shortcomings on the borders, the absence of coordinated activities about most things, and other problems. Our report was adopted in its entirety with some minor editorial changes. The conclusion reached by the commission's legal section was also important because we do not have any laws on the armed forces, a military prosecutor, or police. It was proposed that the president submit basic defense plans within a month. Based on these plans the Supreme Soviet commissions should prepare laws, including a law on the status of border settlements, that is, the creation of [words indistinct] militarized settlements, a law on border guards, and the creation of a regular army.

I was pleased about the course of the debate [words indistinct], all the parties were interested in these matters and it was proven once again that when the defense of our country is involved, everybody comes together. I think that our worst shortcoming to date is that various forces have not come together. The authorities should ensure the mobilization of all the political forces because they all want to work together. This country does not belong to a single party or group, but to everyone. We must put the situation right [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Ter-Stepanyan] Was a decision adopted today?

[Manukyan] A four-point decision was adopted today. I do not know if it will be published or not. The draft decision prepared by the Supreme Soviet Commission was voted on in its entirety [word indistinct]. It consists of four points: First, the president (?must submit) draft principles on establishing an army to the Supreme Soviet; second, we should begin broadcasts that will help forge a moral and patriotic atmosphere in Armenia in line with the current situation; third, we need to discuss the laws we need to pass within a month concerning military forces, the appointment of a military prosecutor, etc.; fourth, the government needs to discuss the problem of the border regions by taking into account the commission's proposals and brief the Supreme Soviet within a month about the work being carried out on the matter.

[Ter-Stepanyan] During its last sitting today, the Supreme Soviet was asked to vote on the president's decrees introducing a state of emergency in Gorisskiy Rayon and appointing Deputy Paruyr Ayrikyan as military commandant there. Due to the lack of a quorum, however, no voting took place.

Ara Saakyan, first Supreme Soviet deputy chairman, chaired the session.

Government To Push Ahead With Economic Reforms

OW1407175192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 14 Jul 92

[From the "Presiential Bulletin" feature by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing the parliament on Monday [13 July], Deputy Premier Grant Bagratian said that the economic crisis will affect the situation not only in the current year, but also in the next 3 years, unless emergency measures are taken without delay. He described the economic situation in Armenia in the first half of this year as "extremely hard". According to him, this was largely due to the cutting of gas supplies by the authorities of North Ossetia. If this had not taken place, Armenia's economic development would have gradually improved and gained momentum, he said.

G. Bagratian submitted to the MPs [members of parliament] budget estimates and socio- economic program for the 2nd half of this year. Armenia's balance of payments, he said, will continue to deteriorate. At the moment balance-of-payments deficit amounts to 14 billion rubles.

Despite the government's endeavours the recession in industrial production will not be stopped in the near future. Armenia's financial situation will not improve. The purchasing capacity of the population will decrease, and unemployment will grow, said the deputy prime minister. Nevertheless his cabinet intends to raise the average monthly wages to 1290 rubles and the minimal wages to 900 rubles, said G. Bagratian.

He called for going on with the policy of economic reforms and for giving comprehensive support to the consumer. According to G. Bagratian, it's necessary to free all the prices as soon as possible, and to engage in August and September in preparations for another increase in the prices of fuel which Russia will liberalize.

The deputy premier hopes that in 1993 they'll succeed in reducing the volume of shadow economy. He urged MPs to do all they can to form a legal base in the economic area. He thinks that top priority should be given to the efforts to pass a bill on bankruptcy, introduce declarations on individual incomes, reform the banking system and build a structure for revealing the socially unprotected sections of the population.

Nagorno-Karabakh Bans Emigration From Republic

LD1507012492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1627 GMT 14 Jul 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Jul—Refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh will not be received in Armenia any longer, and all aid from the republic's government organizations will henceforth be given to them within the boundaries of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. This was announced by Armenia's State Directorate for the Issues of Refugees here today.

Not long ago the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Government of Nagorno-Karabakh adopted a decision in accordance with which citizens of the republic are not allowed to leave the republic. The Karabakh authorities' decision proceeds from the interests of ensuring the defense and restoration of the national economy of the region. The RESPUBLIKA ARMENIA parliamentary newspaper writes today that this step was called forth by the feelings of panic caused by Azerbaijan's latest military successes, which had resulted in Nagorno-Karabakh's population and defenders migrating to Armenia, from where they move on to other CIS regions.

Azerbaijan

Turkish Delegation Meets President, Offers Support

TA1507200392 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] The Turkish delegation headed by Foreign Ministry Under Secretary Ozdem Sanberk, currently in Azerbaijan, was received by Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey and the Azerbaijani foreign minister. During the meetings, it was stressed that Turkey is ready to provide all possible material and moral support to Azerbaijan in the latter's transition to democracy and a market economy.

The talks held between the two countries' foreign ministry delegations focused on the expansion of the scope and content of the friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation agreement, which was previously signed between the two countries, in order to meet the needs of Azerbaijan. The two sides agreed to sign a basic cooperation agreement to that end.

The other ministry and organization officials in the delegation are also conducting various contacts in Baku to further cooperation in their own fields.

Foreign, Economic Body Formed in Nakhichevan

LD1507123692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1011 GMT 15 Jul 92

[By AZERINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Nakhichevan (Azerbaijan) July 15 TASS—A state committee for foreign economic relations was established in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic on Wednesday [15 July].

It is instructed to coordinate activities aimed at developing and deepening foreign economic contacts, primarily with Turkey and Iran.

The Nakhichevan "REAL" independent news agency reports priority is given to Turkey and Iran not only for geographical, but for ethnic reasons as well.

The countries which have a common border with the Nakhichevan Republic, offer considerable assistance to Azerbaijan's enclave separated from the republic by Armenia and declared a free trade zone by the Azerbaijan's Government.

Earlier, Turkey had allocated 100 million U.S. dollars to boost the economic development of the region. At present, Turkish experts help their partners to modernize TV communications, build new energy-generating facilities.

The objects scheduled for commencement at the end of August will put an end to the information and energy blocade imposed on Nakhichevan by the neighbouring Armenia, experts believe.

Iranian border areas offer considerable assistance in the framework of an intergovernmental agreement, according to the Government of Azerbaijan. They are taking care of 14,000 refugees who were forced to leave their homes in the Sadarak region because of heavy artillery shelling from Armenia.

Iran is prepared to help modernize Nakhichevan's industrial enterprises and help with agricultural know-how.

Nakhichevan with its rich natural and mineral resources is attracting more foreign investors. Talks on cooperation with the well-known Greek "Motor-Oil" company have recently ended here.

'Manat' To Replace Ruble on 15 Aug

LD1607132292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1216 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy for TASS]

[Text] Baku July 16 TASS—Azerbaijan will introduce its national currency—the "manat"—on August 15, according to a presidential decree signed on Thursday [16 July]. The rouble will be accepted in Azerbaijan, but one manat will cost ten roubles.

'Furious' Fighting Reported in Karabakh

NC1607113292 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0801 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Baku, 16.07.92 (ASSA-IRADA)—The most furious fightings are going on in Agdere [Mardakertskiy] region of mountainous part of Karabakh. The fighting for wrested Armenian populated district of Agdere region—Vaguas village—has been going on since yesterday. The military formations of Armenia here are supported by the fire from 2 other villages where the Armenian expedition corps is located, Drmbon and Arutyunagomer. The number of casualties is being estimated. The villages of Agdam, Dzhebrailskiy and Fizulyskiy regions in low land Karabakh were under constant fire last night. It is relatively quiet on the border except for Sadarak in Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic which was under recurrent fire, as the correspondent of ASSA-IRADA agency was told in the Defense Ministry.

Georgia

Quiet Reported in Tskhinvali; Forces Withdrawing

LD1607065392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0635 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz July 16 TASS—No shootings were registered in South Ossetia overnight after a peacekeeping force disengaged the conflicting sides there, according to reports from the South Ossetian parliament.

The warring sides are withdrawing from the conflict zone.

South Ossetians warmly welcomed the peace-keepers, parliament Speaker Torez Kulumbekov told TASS.

Gas, water and electricity supplies will be resumed to Tskhinvali in the coming days, roads will be unblocked. Everything is to be done to make most of refugees return home by winter.

Tskhinvali News Conference on Peacekeeping Mission

LD1507154492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Aleshkin]

[Text] A short news conference took place in Tskhinvali on 14 July for Russian and foreign correspondents on the territory of a helicopter regiment. The correspondents had arrived in Tskhinvali to report on the introduction of peacekeeping forces into this region. Aleksandr Aleshkin gives the details.

[Aleshkin] The following people took part in the news conference: Georgiy Kondratyev; Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Emergency Situations; Tengiz Kitovani, first deputy prime minister and defense minister of the Georgian Republic; Sergey Khetagurov, cochairman of the Mixed monitoring Committee and chairman of the North Ossetian Council of Ministers; and Oleg Tezeyev, chairman of the Council of Ministers and South Ossetian defense minister.

Answering correspondents' questions Sergey Shoygu said that the introduction of peacekeeping forces was done in an orderly way according to a plan that had been worked out in advance and without complications. The armed formations of the Georgian and Ossetian sides have been withdrawn from the security zone.

Tengiz Kitovani explained the statement of the Georgian side about the reduction of the number of peacekeeping forces. He said that no political motives should be sought in that statement. It was prompted by purely economic circumstances.

Oleg Tezeyev, having expressed thanks to the Russian Government on behalf of the Ossetian people for the peacekeeping efforts, expressed the hope that the long-awaited peace would at last be established in Tskhinvali.

Sergey Khetagurov stressed that the priority task now is to return the refugees to their places of residence and to establish a peaceful existence. Only then will it be possible to solve all the problems that caused the armed conflict by political means at the negotiation table.

The Georgian sub-units of the joint peacekeeping forces also entered Tskhinvali on 14 July. A battalion from North Ossetia was introduced into the zone of armed conflict on 15 July.

Ossetian Peacemakers Arrive at Rokskiy Pass

LD1507131992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] The Ossetian detachment of peacemaking forces arrived this morning at the southern entrance to the tunnel under Rokskiy Pass, ITAR-TASS has reported. From here it will proceed to the settlements of (Khitagurovo) and Znauri, where it will be deployed by 1700. The Pskov paratroopers regiment and Georgian National Guard formations were brought into the Tskhinvali conflict zone yesterday. They were deployed in the 15-km corridor between the positions of the South Ossetian and Georgian sides.

Officials Deny Chechen Role in Kavsadze Kidnapping

LD1507212292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2020 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of Chechen President Dudayev denied the report on Chechniya's involvement in the kidnapping in Georgia of Vice Premier Kavsadze. Chechniya's representatives also deny rumors about Kavsadze's possible transfer to Groznyy.

Council of Europe Members Arrive for Talks

LD1507223592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1935 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Moscow July 15 ITAR-TASS—Representatives of the Council of Europe (CE)—the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the CE, Hikmet Cetin and the CE Secretary-General, Catherine Lalumiere arrived today in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, the press-centre of the permanent representative of Georgia in Moscow reported.

On the same day they were received by the Chairman of the State Council Eduard Shevardnadze. Questions concerning the development of Georgia's cooperation with the EC, the EC initiatives regarding arrival in the republic of experts for working out recommendations for new political and economic structures in Georgia and the presentation of the package of necessary documents by the council were among the topics discussed during the talks. The EC representatives invited Georgia's Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaydze to a meeting of EC foreign ministers to be held in Istanbul on 10-11 September.

Meet Shevardnadze

TA1507182992 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, current president of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers, and Catherine Lalumiere, Council of Europe secretary general, concluded their contacts in Kiev and proceeded to Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. Our correspondent Yasar Kefeli reports from Tbilisi:

Democratization and transition to a market economy constitute the two important items on Georgia's agenda. Another important issue in Georgia is the internal disturbances in the country.

During their contacts in Tbilisi, Cetin and Lalumiere were received by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian State Council. After the meeting, Shevardnadze replied to reporters' questions. In response to a question, Shevardnadze said that the internal disturbances in Georgia have not ended and that, if necessary, harsh measures may be taken to solve the problem.

Pointing out that the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Agreement could have a significant potential, Shevardnadze remarked that it would be beneficial if the agreement covers political and security matters as well as economic issues. Answering another question, Shevardnadze said that he is ready to cooperate with Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Armenia on the solution of the clashes in Karabakh. Shevardnadze added that Georgia attaches great importance to Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel's upcoming visit to his country.

Cetin and Lalumiere were then received by Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Digua. During the meeting, Digua explained that significant work is being undertaken in Georgia toward democratization and privatization. In turn, Cetin expressed the belief that Georgia will surmount its difficulties in a short time.

The two Council of Europe officials also called on Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksandr Chikvaidze. Cetin and Lalumiere will go to the capital of Kazakhstan tomorrow, on the third leg of their tour.

Discuss Help for Tbilisi

TA1507220192 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Excerpts] Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin has declared that Turkey will make every possible effort toward the solution of Georgia's economic and other difficulties. Cetin, the current president of the Council of Europe's [CE] Committee of Ministers, and Catherine Lalumiere, the secretary general of the Council of Europe, are continuing their tour of some CIS republics. Okan Aydin reports from Tbilisi:

Cetin and Lalumiere held a joint news conference at the end of their contacts in Tbilisi. Cetin announced that Turkey will make every possible contribution to the establishment of peace and stability in Georgia and will assist that country in joining international organizations. The foreign minister pointed out that Georgia is experiencing certain democratic and political problems in its transition. Explaining that economic problems are important, Cetin noted that a failure to resolve the economic problems would make the solution of Georgia's other problems more difficult. [passage omitted]

In her statement, Lalumiere noted that Georgia is experiencing a difficult period and that it is still too early to give a date for Georgia's full membership in the Council of Europe. Lalumiere expressed the hope that the incidents that occurred in Georgia earlier will not happen again. She said that the Council of Europe wants to assist in the establishment of a regime in line with European norms in the newly independent countries.

Cetin and Lalumiere will leave for Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, tomorrow.

Shevardnadze To Leave for Western Georgia

OW1507184592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze heading a large group of members of the republican State Council is going to depart for Western Georgia for some days on Sunday [19 July]. This decision was passed by the session of the State Council on Tuesday [14 July].

According to the members of the State Council, Shevardnadze's tour will help to define the ways for stabilizing the situation in the region which is qualified as tense.

The supporters of the Georgian ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia have strong positions in the Western Georgia. Groups of Zviadists attack trains, blow up rail ways, rob the population. On July 9 they captured the Georgian Vice Premier Aleksander Kavsadze as a hostage who is not freed until now.

Estonia

Details Given on Shooting by Russian Troops

LD1507180192 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Another regretful incident involving Russian military occurred in Estonia [words indistinct]. A truck bearing a Russian Army number plate entered the territory of Rescue Department Headquarters near the site of forest fires at Vihterpalu, northwestern Estonia, yesterday. As the vehicle had ignored traffic signs at the entrance a second lieutenant of the Estonian Border Defense made attempt to force a stop. The Russian military in response opened machine-gun fire at the guard. A commander of the guard of the Border Defense Department who went to the site after making a shot warning [as heard] fired at the truck's wheels. This warning as well was ignored by the military. The Russian Army vehicle was followed and later stopped without forcible action. According to the head of command of the Border Defense Department [name indistinct] a Russian Army soldier and a first lieutenant armed with a machine-gun was discovered in the driver's cab and a wounded person in civilian clothing, also carrying a machine-gun, in the truck box [as heard]. The first lieutenant quite readily [indistinct words] saying he had been order to obey nobody's commands. Later still he agreed to talk to a police patrol that had arrived at the site. The wounded in the truck was taken to hospital where he was identified as lieutenant in the Russian Army. Police have declined to give the (?broadcasting) service any information about either this event or the military involved.

Narva Referendum Seen as 'Dniester Route'

PM1507133992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 92 Morning Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Narva 'Bomb' Starts Ticking"]

[Text] The newspaper ESTONIYA has described the Narva City Soviet's decision to start a signature-collecting campaign in support of a referendum on the city's fate as choosing the "Dniester route."

The results of the referendum among people driven to desperation by the republic authorities' shortsighted and discriminatory policy, the newspaper writes, is not hard to predict—there will be a demand to redraw the border. If Narva does not review its decisions, the newspaper stresses, they will "doom the city to Bendery's fate."

Russian Guards Transfer Control of Harbor

LD1507205092 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] A Russian border guard informed leaders of the Estonian Border Defense Department yesterday that it would stop service activities in all Tallinn ports at 6 P.M. on Tuesday [14 July]. The head of command at the Border Defense Department [name indistinct] told border troops service we have enough strength to do the same work done by the Russian border guards. At the moment it would certainly increase pressure to our men. No ship will enter the ports of Tallinn unchecked said [name indistinct]. Estonian border guards took over control in Tallinn ports already yesterday night.

Drug Addicts, Smuggling Reportedly Increasing

LD1507194892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] There are more than 8,000 drug addicts in Estonia. As the ETA news agency reports, citing police data, the Baltic states may—by virtue of their geographic position—become one of the main staging posts for the smuggling of drugs into Western and Northern Europe. Whereas customs officials confiscated 20-30 kilograms of drugs annually a few years ago, last year this figure exceeded 100 kilograms. According to forecasts by the Estonian police, the smuggling of drugs via the Baltic countries will increase every year.

Latvia

Appeal Made for Help in Fighting Seja Fires

LD1507170892 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] Before I introduce you to some of today's newspapers, first a little information. We were just telephoned by the Incukalns head forester's office to report that assistance is still needed at the sites of the fires. There is a request for people to go in small numbers to the fires, taking shovels with them. You have to go as far as the Seja village shop; up to 100 people are needed at night. Just now, before I arrived at the studio, I met one of the people from the Popov radio factory, who had returned from fire-fighting in the forest at Seja. The situation there is in fact very serious; there is a lack of both people and tools. This person accused us of misinforming the people by saying that at least at this site all is calm; however, it is not like that in the forest at Seja, so people, get going to Seja village shop, go up to the Incukalns head forester's office, and take shovels with you. Remember, your presence is necessary at night too, up to 100 people.

One-Third of Spring Crops Destroyed by Fires

LD1507152292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0500 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Announcer-read report from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The forest fires raging in Latvia have forced the three neighboring Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Norway, and Finland—to send firefighting equipment. Swedish aid alone is valued at 600,000 krona.

The unprecedentedly hot summer this year has brought a rash of forest fires to Latvia. In May, June, and early July there were over 190 separate fires. Thousands of hectares of forest have been completely burned out. In the Riga area alone 1,300 hectares of 8-10-year old pine forests, and also birch groves, have died in the flames. The most dangerous outbreaks are being localized, but everything depends on the wind direction, and the situation could yet deteriorate because peat bogs are also ablaze.

The long drought has dried out crops. According to expert forecasts, the grain harvest will come to just eight centners per hectare, which is one-third of the usual yield. One-third of the spring crops sown have been completely destroyed. This is tragic for the republic. It is an enormous loss. In the Riga area a state of emergency has been declared. This summer of drought has been the worst for Latvian agriculture since that of 1939.

Farmers: Drought To Affect Essential Crops

LD1507224692 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Text] The lingering drought will most probably result in a much lower yield than usual of all essential crops, say Latvian farmers and specialists of agriculture.

The situation is only a little better with winter and fodder crops and potatoes. Farmers say that coming of rain may only improve the yield of potatoes and fodder crops, but for cereals it is already too late. It means that many a farmer will be ruined by this fall. Numerous farms have not even been insured against losses due to acute financial problems this spring.

Besides the catastrophic drought which alone will do great harm the purchase prices are set two times lower than promised by the state. Incomes will not possibly cover the working expenses and many a farmer will refuse to sell crops to the state. The necessity to feed townspeople will not force the richest farmer to sell at the set low prices.

This means the coming winter will be one of the hardest and the prices of farm produce on the Latvian market will soar unpredictably.

Problems Predicted in Currency Switch

PM1607092192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report: "Problems For Ruble's Last Week in Latvia"]

[Text] Riga—By decision of the Committee for Monetary Reform, as of 13 July, customers should receive change only in Latvian rubles (Russian currency can be used for another week—through 20 July).

However, this is not what is actually happening—there are not enough Latvian notes for the trading system. Incidentally, people are more worried about something else—whether the next stage of monetary reform will lead to a significant price increase, as was the case in neighboring Estonia. Entrepreneurs are scratching their heads over another problem—what will happen to credit transfers?

So far, the latest news is not optimistic. It is possible, leaders of the Bank of Latvia believe, that the Central Bank of Russia will require that the several billion Russian rubles accumulated by the Bank of Latvia be returned. There will also be major expenditure—Russia is insisting that a 1-billion-ruble back payment for gas deliveries be made by 1 August, and the government's debt to the Bank of Latvia has increased to 2.5 billion rubles.

Russian Troops To Have Access to Local Currency

OW1607092692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0650 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy in charge of the Bank of Latvia's money supply department Galina Borisenko told BF [BALTFAX] that Russia's north-western group of forces deployed in Latvia would be allowed to exchange Russian roubles for local ones after July 20 in line with an agreement on account-settling, currently in progress, between the Central Bank of Russia and the Bank of Latvia, whose representatives are now in Moscow.

Borisenko said that a difficulty might arise because of failure by the Russian Army to register its banks whose operation is subject to licensing by the Bank of Latvia.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Urges New Cabinet, Prime Minister

OW1507174292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Jul 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Lithuanian parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, has had to cut short his visit in Byelarus and return to Vilnius following the vote of no-confidence to the government led by Mr Vagnorius. At a morning session on Wednesday [15 July], he read out a draft resolution instructing the government to stay put until a new cabinet was named.

At the same time, Landsbergis called for a new prime minister and cabinet to be named as early as possible since "any move by the government, prime minister or a cabinet member could be qualified as illegal".

The parliament is expected to discuss the draft and adopt an appropriate resolution during the day.

Vagnorius To Begin Vacation

LD1507223992 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] During the debates in parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis proposed a compromise that the draft resolution should contain a precise date until which the prime minister should continue his duties and by which the parliament chairman should propose a new candidate.

The center faction and its deputies did not take back their proposed draft that the duties of the prime minister should be entrusted temporarily to a vice prime minister.

Having asked for permission to speak, Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius said he would like to make the work of the deputies easier, and he stated he will be on vacation starting tomorrow and will continue his vacation until a new prime minister is appointed. While on vacation, he will entrust his duties to one of the vice prime ministers, most likely Algis Dobravolskas. [passage omitted]

Leaders Give Briefing on Helsinki Summit

LD1607085492 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 13 Jul 92

[Text] Article 15 of the Helsinki Final Act signed in Helsinki last Friday [10 July] says it is necessary to provide for a controlled and complete withdrawal of foreign troops from the Baltic states as well as a timetable for that withdrawal. Observers point out that this was a significant achievement by the Baltic states in the international arena.

A discussion on the Helsinki summit was held today at a news conference by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas, and ambassador at large Valdemaras Katkus. Juozas Kavolis was at the conference.

[Kavolis] According to Valdemaras Katkus, Lithuanian ambassador at large at the Helsinki process, the problem of the Baltic states—the presence of foreign troops in these states—was included in the political declaration of the Final Act. The problems of the former Yugoslavia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Moldova were not included. Valdemaras Katkus said the Baltic states had to defend their position until the very last minute, because Russia was making efforts to impose a position which is absolutely unacceptable to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

According to the Lithuanian ambassador at large, much work had to be done, first to find a common position between Lithuania and the other Baltic states, and then between the Baltic states and the Western countries. Finally, when the support from the West came, means had to be found of compelling Russia to approve off the acceptable formulation of Article 15.

Valdemaras Katkus pointed out that the 14 June referendum on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania by the end of this year played a significant role in the formulation of this article. According to the ambassador at large, the Lithuanian referendum significantly helped Estonia and Latvia. According to Valdemaras Katkus, the article in the political declaration of the Helsinki Final Act on the Baltic states is a significant norm of international law.

[Begin Katkus recording] This is a satisfactory article indeed with all the mechanism that follows. I think this is a significant norm of international law, and it was set up by the Baltic states, probably for the first time in a document of such status. If I may add a few more words on the Helsinki process, I must say that it marks the end of a significant political period. Put it this way, because the next summit meeting will be held in two years time—the next meeting will take place in 1994 in Budapest—we have a guaranteed international norm and a mechanism for at least two years in order to strengthen the security of our state and people. [end recording]

[Kavolis] Before the Helsinki summit, more than 30 proposals were submitted by Lithuania on the issue of foreign troops in the Baltic states, but these proposals were vetoed by Russia.

Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis said that Lithuania made efforts to secure the support for a more specific and more detailed article on the issue of the Baltic states.

[Begin Landsbergis recording] We proposed a more specific and a more detailed text of Article 15 which provided a more explicit and clear wording of the obligation of all the Helsinki Process states to at least observe the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic states, and stated that these states should feel a certain responsibility for this matter. Our (?proposal) did not receive overall support at the earlier stage of discussions, but the elements (?of this proposal) were integrated or expressed in some other way in the currently existing text. These could be further underlined with the help of a supplementary (?corrective) statement, and this is what we did.

In my speech [words indistinct], I made several remarks to the effect that the procedure itself and the rules stipulating that the final text should not mention individual countries seemed to make these foreign troops anonymous, so that it was not clear whose responsibility these troops were. However, the rules of the game and the conventions I mentioned [words indistinct] were compensated for by our supplementary statement. [end recording]

[Kavolis] The Lithuanian delegation met with many representatives of foreign states and international organizations in the Finnish capital. The chairmen of the Supreme Councils of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia talked to U.S. President George Bush. According to Vytautas Landsbergis, the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states was the main topic of this meeting. The U.S. President was interested in the situation.

Therefore, some matters had to be clarified, Vytautas Landsbergis said, for example, Russia's insistence that several thousand servicemen were involved could be deceptive and did not necessarily indicate that a certain number of apartments was needed to accommodate these servicemen in Russia.

Meanwhile, Lithuania also had important meetings with the leaders of its Southern neighbors: Poland, Russia, Byelarus, and the Ukraine. According to Vytautas Landsbergis, cordial and sincere negotiations were held with Polish President Lech Walesa, first of all concerning the interstate treaty and the political opposition in both countries. It was agreed during the talks that this year should mark a turning point in Polish-Lithuanian relations, and this removed one of the obstacles for the development of such relations while local elections are held in southeast Lithuania.

Vytautas Landsbergis invited Lech Walesa to visit Lithuania.

Meanwhile, Lithuanian Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis will meet with Byelarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich in Gerveciai village tomorrow. The leaders of the two states will continue the talks they started in Helsinki concerning diplomatic relations, the delimitation of state borders, and the nationality minorities in Byelarus and Lithuania.

Delegation Interprets Helsinki Summit Document

LD1607102592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 14 Jul 92

["Text" of interpretative statement on Paragraph 79 of the Helsinki CSCE summit recommendations, presented to the CSCE executive secretariat by the Lithuanian delegation; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Lithuania welcomes the adoption of the Helsinki concluding document of 1992, and draws special attention to Paragraph 15 of the political declaration, which concerns an issue of vital importance for the Baltic states.

Regarding this paragraph, Lithuania believes that the attention paid by the member states to the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic states demonstrates that this problem is not bilateral, because essentially their presence is a violation of international law; therefore there should be no delay in eliminating this violation. This is also stressed in Paragraph 15, which clearly states that this army is stationed on the territories of the Baltic states without the necessary permission of these states. The term necessary can be interpreted only in accordance with the basic principles of international law.

Therefore, it is not without justification that the 51 member states have expressed concern about this problem and are observing the withdrawal of the Russian army from Lithuania, saying that they will not tolerate any delay in this withdrawal.

Apart from that, we are not accepting the present situation automatically. Nobody has been tried for the attack on Lithuania in 1940. The question of responsibility for aggression and occupation has not been removed from the agenda; for instance, there is the question of the unlawful appearance and stay of a foreign army in Lithuania.

Another consideration is that this situation is not abstract. It did not appear from nowhere, but from a state whose rights and obligations were taken over by Russia when it was admitted to the United Nations.

When on 29 July 1992 [as heard] the Republic of Lithuania and the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic signed a treaty in Moscow on the principles of interstate relations, Russia was convinced that, when the consequences of the Soviet Union's annexation, which violated Lithuania's sovereignty, had been eliminated, additional conditions of mutual trust between the high contracting parties and their peoples would be created. Russia itself will now implement these guarantees by eliminating the unlawful presence of its army on the territory of sovereign Lithuania as one of the above mentioned consequences.

The same should be said about compensation for the damage inflicted on Lithuania, which was unanimously demanded in the 14 June referendum in Lithuania. This referendum's demand for the withdrawal of the Russian Army by the end of the year was of exceptional importance.

This is the only understanding Lithuania can have of the term undelayed, and it is convinced that the CSCE signatories are well aware of this unanimous demand by the people of Lithuania.

Hoping for an orderly and organized withdrawal, Lithuania is of the opinion that among those possibilities [passage indistinct].

Landsbergis, Kazakh's Nazarbayev on Relations

LD1607044692 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis had a telephone conversation with Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev. This was the continuation of their talks which began during the Helsinki summit meeting.

Audrius Azubalis, representative of the Supreme Council for the press, reported that the leaders of both states decided to set up the state delegations which would prepare the Lithuanian-Kazakhstan economic and trade treaty until 1993. A working group is also to be set up which would prepare bilateral state agreements.

Agriculture Official Comments on Food Prices

LD1507155392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 13 Jul 92

[Excerpts] According to information received by the statistics department, the purchase of meat in the republic during the first half of the current year fell by 17 percent and milk by 29 percent in comparison to the same period last year. The BELTA correspondent asked Saulius Lamanauskas, deputy minister of agriculture, to comment on these figures. He said: The statistical date does not reveal everything. I have in mind that part of meat and milk produce which the people are selling privately, because it is more profitable to them now to sell their produce on the market. In comparison with last year there is a surplus of milk, because we do not supply milk products to the CIS. If these products are in short supply in the shops it is because the trade organizations find it unprofitable to sell milk products. At the moment 4,300 tonnes of butter have accumulated in the fridges, cheese also is not in demand. The Kelme shop producing home-made cheese was closed down only because this good product is not taken by the trade people because of its high price. The milk products enterprises are currently capable of significantly increasing the output and the supply.

One million seven hundred thousand tonnes of grain for food and fodder were imported by the republic annually. This year 290,000 tonnes of grain have been received through charity channels, otherwise we managed with our own fodder. As a result of a short supply of fodder and the change in the structure of the agriculture, the overall number of cattle in the republic has decreased. The government takes care of preserving the main herd of breed cattle. I think that the people will be supplied with meat, milk, and milk products, although the export of this produce will decrease. [passage omitted] When the price of a tonne of petrol is that of more than four tonnes of milk, when the lawn mower stops because there is no fuel, then the farmer must be helped by the state. [passage omitted]

Fund Established To Support Agriculture

LD1607012892 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Summary] The governent expects to amass 15 billion rubles in a special fund to support agriculture suffering from drought. The fund has been established in accordance with a government resolution and will be at the disposal of the Ministry of Agriculture. The fund will be formed from the credit emission and its interest.

Parliament Authorizes Credit Emissions

OW1607093892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0650 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Parliament on Tuesday [14 July] passed a resolution instructing the country's national bank, the Bank of Lithuania, to carry out a Rbl [ruble] 12 bln [billion] worth of credit emission, earmarking Rbl 3 bln to pay farm producers.

It also instructed the government and the bank to hold talks with rouble area states for reaching agreement on debt repayment and bank account clearings.

The government was given until this Wednesday [14 July] to prepare a plan for stabilizing the domestic market following the introduction of the republic's own currency.

Planning Official Says Gasoline Sales Decline

LD1607054392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1345 GMT 15 Jul 92

[Excerpt] So far the supply of crude oil to the Mazeikiai oil refinery is stable. This month already over 200,000 tonnes were received. However, another problem exists—that of selling products.

Zigmantas Mancinskas, head of the enterprise's planning section, said that if the enterprise continues to amass oil products, especially gasoline, orders for the supply of raw materials will have to be reduced. The mediator betweeen the producers and consumers, the Mazeikiai Fuel and Oil Product Base, is already refusing to purchase products in large quantities. The sale of gasoline in the republic is declining. If in the past there have been plans to sell gasoline to the neighbors—Latvians and Estonians—at present, in accordance with today's system of trade, laws, regulations, and taxes, the enterprise is in a bad state: the neighbors prefer to purchase oil products from Russia because it is cheaper.

Asked what was the way out, Mr. Mancisnkas said: One has to wait for oil products to become more precious in Russia itself. No matter how one calculates it, gasoline and other oil products turned out by the Mazeikiai oil refinery are very expensive. Although many consumers accuse the producers of becoming rich, the oil workers said that last month the enterprise had a loss in the sum of about 150 million rubles. [passage omitted]

Living Conditions for New Army Reported

PM1607102192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Jul 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report by V. Orlov and Ye. Chukovskiy, from Karmelava, Lithuania]

[Text] [Orlov] This is Karmelava settlement near Kaunas—formerly the site of a young pioneer camp. This is where the Lithuanian Army's motorized assault battalion is temporarily stationed. It is part of the "Iron Wolf" rapid response field brigade. The title goes back to the times of bourgeois Lithuania and the old Lithuanian army. The present Lithuanian Army has taken over not only the old title, but also the insignia, ranks, and symbols.

When we were shooting this reportage, the guys from the "Iron Wolf" were getting ready for a short 25km forced march at the double.

The soldiers' living conditions are decent. The relationships between officers and men, and among the officers themselves differ substantially from army service in the former Soviet Army as we know it.

Battalion commander Major Zhukov is a historian by education. I asked the major why he, a civilian, has joined the army. I consider it my duty, the major told me: Now that we have regained our independence, we have to defend it.

The first draft into the new Lithuanian Army took place last fall. The men serve 12 months. There is also an alternative service. In the longer term the Lithuanians are hoping to create a professional army. True, it is difficult to say when. It is an expensive business.

Spokesman on Visits by Pope, Poland's Walesa

LD1607080592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] During a briefing on 14 June, Supreme Council press representative Audrius Azubalis expressed astonishment at the report by the Lithuanian television program Panorama that, according to an unofficial report by the Baltic News Service, Pope John Paul II will visit Lithuania only after a visit by Polish President Lech Walesa. The Polish president has promised to visit Lithuania, but this has nothing to do with the planned visit by holy father.